

**Proceedings of the 7th
World Congress of
African Linguistics, Buea,
17-21 August 2012
VOLUME TWO**



**EDITED BY
Gratien G. Atindogbé &
Evelyn Fogwe Chibaka**

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Proceedings of the 7th World Congress of African Linguistics, Buea, 17-21 August 2012

Volume Two

Edited by
Gratien G. Atindogbé &
Evelyn Fogwe Chibaka



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WOCAL Congresses 1994 – 2015

The following short congress profiles summarize key facts from all the WOCAL congresses.

1ST WORLD CONGRESS OF AFRICAN LINGUISTICS

Kwaluseni, Swaziland, July 18th – 22nd 1994

- Location: University of Swaziland
Theme: African Linguistics at the Crossroads
Congress Chairs: Robert K. Herbert & E.C. Lwandle Kunene
Keynotes: Ben O. Elugbe, Bernd Heine, Thomas Hinnebusch, G. Hérault, Mubanga Kashoki, Sam Mchombo, David Odden, Irina Toporova, Anthony Traill
Presentations: 150 (200 announced); Countries of scholars: 34 (21 African countries)
Proceedings: Robert K. Herbert † (ed.) 1997. *African Linguistics at the Crossroads. Papers from Kwaluseni, 1st World Congress of African Linguistics, Swaziland 18 - 22. VII. 1994.* Cologne: Köppe. ISBN 978-3-89645-120-0

2ND WORLD CONGRESS OF AFRICAN LINGUISTICS

Leipzig, Germany, July 27th – August 3rd 1997

- Location: University of Leipzig
Theme: African Languages in the 3rd Millennium
Patron: Prof. Dr. Kurt Biedenkopf, Prime Minister of the Free State of Saxony
Congress Chair: H. Ekkehard Wolff
Keynotes: Ayo Bambose, Mohamed H. Abdulaziz, Kay Williamson, Paul Newman
Presentations: 180 (250 announced); Countries: 39
Proceedings: H. Ekkehard Wolff & Orin Gensler (eds.) 2000. *Proceedings of the 2nd World Congress of African Linguistics Leipzig 1997.* Cologne: Köppe ISBN 978-3-89645-124-8.
Special symposium: Endangered Languages organized by Matthias Brenzinger (DFG)
Proceedings of the symposium: Matthias Brenzinger (ed.) 1998. *Endangered Languages in Africa.* Cologne: Köppe. ISBN 978-3-89645-305-1

3RD WORLD CONGRESS OF AFRICAN LINGUISTICS

Lomé, Togo, August 21st – 26th 2000

Location: Université du Bénin-Lomé, Togo
 Theme: *no Congress theme*
 Patron: Monsieur le Ministre de l'Education Nationale et de la Recherche
 Congress Chair: Kézié Kyenzi Lébiakaza
 Keynotes: Bernd Heine, Hounkpati Capo, Karsten Legère, Ayo Bambose, Herman M. Batibo
 Presentations: 90 (150 announced); Countries: 29 (17 African countries)
 Proceedings: Kézié Kyenzi Lébiakaza † (ed.) 2003. Actes du 3e Congrès Mondial de Linguistique Africaine Lomé 2000. Cologne: Köppe. ISBN 978-3-89645-335-8
 Special symposium: Major African Languages organized by Matthias Brenzinger (Fritz Thyssen-Foundation)

4TH WORLD CONGRESS OF AFRICAN LINGUISTICS

New Brunswick, USA, June 17th – 22nd 2003

Location: Rutgers University, New Brunswick, NJ, USA
 Theme: The Description of African Languages in a Rapidly Changing Field
 Congress Chair: Akinbiyi Akinlabi
 Keynotes: Larry Hyman, Ben O. Elugbe, H. Ekkehard Wolff
 Presentations: 160 (200 announced); Countries: 22
 Proceedings: Akinbiyi Akinlabi & Oluseye Adesola (eds.) 2004. *Proceedings of the 4th World Congress of African Linguistics New Brunswick 2003*. Cologne: Köppe. ISBN 978-3-89645-338-9
 Special collaboration: Co-organized together with the 34th Annual Conference on African Linguistics (ACAL 34)

5TH WORLD CONGRESS OF AFRICAN LINGUISTICS

Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, August 7th – 11th 2006

Location: African Union Conference Center & Addis Ababa University
 Theme: The Fate of the African Languages in the World of Globalization
 Congress Chair: BAYE Yimam
 Keynotes: Al Mtenga, Bernd Heine, Felix Ameka, Ian Maddieson, Rosalie Finlayson.
 Presentations: 90 (130 announced); Countries 23 (14 African countries)

SPECIAL 6TH WORLD CONGRESS OF AFRICAN LINGUISTICS

São Paulo, Brasil, August 11th – 15th 2008

Location:	Universidade de São Paulo
Theme:	Exploring the African Language Connection in Americas
Congress Chair:	Margarida Maria Taddoni Petter
Keynotes:	Emili Bonvini, Ayo Bamgbose, Sergio Valdes Bernal, Manuel Ndonga, Salikoko Mufwene, Amindo Ngunga
Presentations:	65 (72 announced)
Proceedings:	Margarida Maria Taddoni Petter & Ronald Beline Mendes (eds.) 2009. <i>Proceedings of the Special World Congress of African Linguistics: Exploring the African Language connection in the Americas</i> . São Paulo: Humanitas. ISBN 9788577321216

6TH WORLD CONGRESS OF AFRICAN LINGUISTICS

Cologne, Germany, August 17th – 21st 2009

Location:	University of Cologne
Theme:	African linguistics for Understanding and Progress
Congress Chair:	Matthias Brenzinger
Keynotes:	Neville Alexander, Sam Lutalo, Margarida Petter, Gratién Gualbert Atindogbé, Roland Kiessling
Session	Tucker Childs, Zygmunt Frajzyngier, James
Keynotes:	Gordan Bennett, Abdelrahim Hamid Mugaddam, Salikoko Mufwene, Ekkehard Wolff
Special workshop:	Special African Sign Language Workshop (Victoria Nyst, Shane Gilchrist, Rezenet Moges, Eyasu Tamene); Nubian Workshop (Anne Storch, Al-Amin Abu-Manga); Tima research unit (Gerrit J. Dimmendaal)
Summer school	Special DAAD summer school on language documentation, organized by Matthias Brenzinger
Presentations:	291 (298 announced), Countries: 64 (36 African countries)
Proceedings:	Matthias Brenzinger & Anne-Maria Fehn (eds.) 2012. <i>Proceedings of the 6th World Congress of African Linguistics Cologne 2009</i> . Cologne: Köppe. ISBN 978-3-89645-199-6

7TH WORLD CONGRESS OF AFRICAN LINGUISTICS

Buea, Cameroon, August 20th – 24th 2012

Location:	University of Buea
Theme:	Language description and documentation for development, education and the preservation of cultural heritage in Africa
Congress Chair:	Pius Tamanji & Gratién Gualbert Atindogbé
Keynotes:	Beban Sammy Chumbow, Jean-Marie Hombert, Rebecca Grollemund, Anne Storch, Goedele de Clerck, Karsten Legère, Maurice Tadadjeu
Special workshops:	Antipassives in African languages, coordinators: Guillaume Segerer & Koen Bostoen The history of post-verbal negation in African languages, coordinators: Maud Devos & Dmitri Idiatov Sociolinguistic documentation workshop, coordinators: Jeff Good & Tucker Childs
Presentations:	231 (294 announced), Countries: 42 (22 African countries)
Proceedings:	Gratién G. Atindogbé & Evelyn Fogwe Chibaka (eds.) 2017. <i>Proceedings of the 7th World Congress of African Linguistics. Buea 2012</i> . Bamenda: Langaa RPCIG. ISBN: 9956-764-38-8

8TH World Congress of African Linguistics (WOCAL 8)

Kyoto, Japan, August 21st - 24th 2015

Location:	Kyoto University
Theme:	not specified, all research topics relating to African language studies were welcomed
Congress Chair:	Shigeki Kaji
Keynotes:	Masayoshi Shibatani, Tetsuro Matsuzawa, Yédê Adama Sanogo, Nobutaka Kamei, Tucker Childs
Special workshops:	Workshop 1 (pre-Wocal): Current Trends in Khoisan Linguistics (August 20 th , 2015) Workshop 2: African Ideophones and their Contribution to Linguistics Workshop 3: Areal Phenomena in Northern Sub-Saharan Africa Workshop 4: Sign Language and Deaf Education Workshop 5: From Home to Home: African Urban Youth Languages in the Diaspora Workshop 6: Event Integration Patterns in African Languages

Presentations: 183 (185 announced), Countries: 26 (11 African countries without counting Africans from outside Africa)
 Proceedings: Shigeki Kaji (eds.) 2017. Proceedings of the 8th World Congress of African Linguistics. Kyoto 2015. Tokyo: Research Institute for Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa. ISBN: 978-4-86337-233-7 / B233

CONTACT AND INFORMATION ON WOCAL

Matthias Brenzinger,
 Secretary General of WOCAL
 Email: matthias.brenzinger@uct.za

More statistics WOCAL-7 Buea

Total number of abstracts received:	294
Total Number of presentations made:	231
Total number of participants invited (including observers):	365
Total number of people who attended:	324

Countries Represented (42)

No.	Country	Number of Abstracts	No.	Country	Number of Abstracts
1.	Australia	(01)	23.	Kenya	(11)
2.	Austria	(02)	24.	Kyoto	(01)
3.	Belgium	(01)	25.	Malawi	(01)
4.	Benin	(05)	26.	Morocco	(03)
5.	Botswana	(03)	27.	Mozambique	(01)
6.	Brasil	(04)	28.	Nigeria	(40)
7.	Cameroon	(71)	29.	Poland	(03)
8.	Canada	(01)	30.	Portugal	(03)
9.	Central Africa	(02)	31.	Russia	(05)
10.	China	(01)	32.	Senegal	(07)
11.	The Congo (B)	(01)	33.	SIL	(18)
12.	D.R. Congo (K)	(02)	34.	South Africa	(07)
13.	Ethiopia	(11)	35.	Sudan	(06)
14.	France	(24)	36.	Sweden	(05)
15.	Gambia	(01)	37.	Tanzania	(03)
16.	Germany	(34)	38.	Tchad	(16)
17.	Ghana	(04)	39.	Togo	(05)
18.	Holland	(09)	40.	Turkey	(01)
19.	Israel	(02)	41.	Uganda	(02)
20.	Italy	(02)	42.	UK	(04)
21.	Ivory Coast	(01)	43.	Unknown	(13)

22.	Japan	(04)	44.	USA	(25)
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Introduction

*Evelyn Fogwe Chibaka & Gratien G. Atindogbé;
University of Buea*

This volume of the Seventh World Congress of African Linguistics (WOCAL 7) was operated under the major theme “LANGUAGE DESCRIPTION AND DOCUMENTATION FOR DEVELOPMENT, EDUCATION AND THE PRESERVATION OF CULTURAL HERITAGE”. The broadness and contemporary relevance of this theme activated a wide spectrum of topics that have immensely given an in-depth examination and investigation of some African languages in almost all the linguistic domains and its related disciplines. All the contributions in this volume share the common goals of:

1. Enhancing our understanding of more of the structures of the African languages, developing techniques for describing African languages in diversified perspectives, providing some insights in the challenges that are retarding the development and propagation of African languages and cultures into the educational systems, and

2. Suggesting tracks for the preservation and enhancement of the cultural heritage related to those languages.

After scrutiny, this collection of 42 peer-reviewed papers has been categorized into nine headings, excluding the plenary paper, on the bases of the topics’ affinity. These categories are: Borrowing, Discourse Analysis, Historical Linguistics, Intercultural Communication, Language Documentation, Language in Education, Morpho-syntax, Phonetics and Phonology, and lastly Sociolinguistics. In each of the above mentioned section of the volume, the authors have provided scholastic evaluations and investigations using contemporary theoretical approaches into issues related to African languages that warrant a read through from any researcher of African linguistics.

The presentations in this volume commence with a plenary paper from H. Ekkehard Wolff, titled, “Language planning and

policy implementation in Africa: whose job, and how to go about it?" This elaborate and taught provoking talk dissects and provides practical solutions to some of the language planning and policy challenges in the African continent today.

In Part two of this book, 'Borrowing', just one paper is included. The paper titled "*La néologie d'emprunt a-t-elle un impact sur le système phonologique et morphologique du baka?*" by Bertille Djoupee, presents the linguistic phenomenon of 'borrowing' as it is attested in the Baka language, a Niger Congo language, spoken in Cameroon, Gabon and Congo-Brazzaville. In this paper the author used five functional domains in the language to justify the phonological and morphological integration of loan sounds and words in the Baka language.

Part three, 'Discourse analysis' contains three papers: "African proverbs and development" (Joseph N. Mfonyam), "Proverbs as evidence of social inequality in Igbo" (Iwuchukwu C. S. Godwin and Roseline Ihuoma Ndimele) and "Elements of information highlighting in Aja (Kwa) texts" (Virginia Beavon-Ham). In this section, the authors used African proverb texts as a genre of language or style in studying language structures. The studies also fully appreciate the linguistic beauty as well as the meaning these texts mediate. In employing different analytical strategies, the authors identified the relative frequencies of use of proverbs in peak vs. non-peak moments in a discourse, brought out subjective linguistic inequality, which translates to social inequality in some discourse genres.

In Part four, 'Historical linguistics', two papers are proposed: "Reduction of noun classes and the emergence of semantic classification in Bafanji (grassfields, Cameroon)" (Cameron Hamm) and "Torona: a disappearing Talodi language of Sudan" (Russell Norton and Thomas kuku Alaki). While the first paper discusses the shift in noun class agreement systems in Bafanji an Eastern Grassfields Bantu language spoken in the North West Region of Cameroon, the second paper is a typological exploration of the methodological challenges involved in the documentation and status identification of speech forms of the Talodi language family of Sudan.

The fifth section, 'Intercultural communication', is made of three papers: "Request, complaint or request-complaint? - speech acts which include the expression of disapproval in two communication cultures of the Cameroonian grassfields" (Doreen Schröter, Britta Neumann and Roland Kießling), "The language of symbols and African communication: the case of Ngemba" (Lydie Christelle Talla Makoudjou) and lastly "*Termes d'adresse et langues camerounaises dans les marchés de Yaoundé*" (Avoa Mebenga Geneviève Sandrine). As the title of this section indicates, the papers have variedly but related approaches to discourse ethnography of communication. It is demonstrated that while context is essential for an effective communication, language pragmatic competence inferences is crucial to the interpretation of the meaning in different speech communities.

Part six, 'Language documentation', contains five papers: "Total immersion as community-gearred approach for an efficient revitalisation of endangered languages" (Gabriel D. Djomeni); "When the "wrong" language is being documented: language documentation and language dynamics among the Bakola of Cameroon" (Emmanuel Ngue Um and Daniel Duke); "One language or two? Bom and Kim, two highly endangered South Atlantic "languages" (G. Tucker Childs); "Multiple dialects standardisation in Cameroon: Promoting linguistic rights or language endangerment?" (Blasius Agha-ah Chiatoh and Judith Fonyuy Moye); and lastly "Research on sign languages and deaf/sign communities in sub-Saharan Africa: Challenges of diversity, documentation, revitalization, language planning, and capacity building" (Sam Lutalo-Kiingi, and Goedeke A.M. De Clerck). In this part of the book, different aspects of documentary linguistics have been explored using contemporary frameworks. Some challenges involved in data elicitation and analyses are discussed.

The seventh section of this volume, 'Language in education' comprises five papers. These include: "*Que faire à l'école avec les langues africaines?*" (Henry Tourneux et HadidjaKonai); "*Silt'e as a medium of instruction*" (Hussein Mohammed Musa); "*Langues et insertion des communautés ethnolinguistiques*

minoritaires dans les institutions publiques camerounaises : cas de quatre ministères situées dans la ville de Yaoundé au Cameroun” (Julia Messina Ndibnu); *“Les défis inhérents à l’intellectualisation des langues africaines : le cas d’une langue Camerounaise, le Yambetta”* (Maxime Yves Julien Manifi Abouh) and lastly *“Moroccans’ attitudes towards the use of mother tongues as languages of instruction”* (Yamina El Kirat El Allame and Karima Belghiti). This part of the book host papers that discuss the different management and integration of the mother tongue educational (MTE) systems of some African countries and the attitudes of these countries towards MTEs.

Part eight, Morpho-syntax, contains eighteen papers, i.e. the majority of the papers of the volume are confined in this section. The discussions range from applications of different theoretical linguistic frameworks in analysing different aspects of the grammar of African languages to simple descriptions of highly under-described languages. The papers in this section include: the *“Ergativity and anti-passive in majang - another look”* (Andreas Joswig); *“Swahili ma-/am- and Mùuré -m: A unified account”* (Sû-tôôg-nooma Kabore and Odile Racine-Issa); *« Formes nominales en polri »* (Wega Simeu); *« Grammaire du Äebot: temps, aspect, mode »* (Beban Sammy Chumbow and Yaphete Madjirade); *“Grammaticalized verbal and nominal forms in Kanuri/Kanembu”* (Doris Löhr and Eva Rothmaler); *“Koorete conditional constructions”* (Lydia Hoeft); *« Le système des classes nominales en senar (une langue senufo du Burkina Faso): analyse et esquisse comparative avec le proto-senufo»* (Traoré Daouda); *“Negation in Buwal: order, form and meaning”* (Melanie Viljoen); *“Focusing in Ngamambo: minimalist approach”* (Sirih- Nagang Nancy Nyindem); *“Pronouns and case marking in Katcha”* (Christine Waag); *“Question reinforcer and question formation in Bakókó”* (Gaston Bessala); *“The noun class system in Mmen: A center Ring Grassfields Bantu language”* (Mirjam Möller); *“Pied-piping, remnant movement and clause structure in Muyang”* (Edmond Biloa); *“The Morpheme gäna in Amharic”* (Delombera Negga); *“Negation in Yukuben (Jukunoid, Benue-Congo)”* (Rose-Juliet Anyanwu); *“Issues in the analysis of verbs serialization in*

Meta?” (Evelyn Fogwe Chibaka); “Modal-aspect complexes in Yoruba, a tenseless language?” (Yun-Hsin Chang and Funmilayo Amos Olorundare); and lastly “The sentence final particles *wé* and *tá* in Ikwere” (Sylvester N. Osu).

In Part nine, Phonetics and Phonology, two papers are proposed. In the first, “The status of nasal consonants in Gbe languages: the case of *saxwɛgbe*”, Joshua T. Ham discusses the status of nasal consonants in the Gbe lects (Niger-Congo family, Kwa group) and uses appropriate examples to justify his recommendation of a hybrid analysis in describing the existing phonemic system for the Gbe lects. In the second paper, “Tone in Western Ejagham (Etung): lexical tone on verbs with the perfective constituent focus suffix”, John R. Watters uses the Lexical Phonology model to account for the surface tones on the set of verb forms that make use of the perfective constituent focus suffix.

The final section of the book is Part ten, Sociolinguistics. Here, two papers are found: “Emotion concepts in Igala language (Nigeria): A view from NSM theory” (Lillian Tokula and Martin Pütz) and ‘Scripticide’ or the killing of Hausa-Ajami writing system in Northern Nigeria and its aftermath” by Dahiru Muhammad Argungu. The works here examine language and its use in the society in different contemporary contexts. More specifically, the authors took into account both the experiential components and the idealized cultural models applied in the understanding of the encoding of some emotionally related concepts. Also, they had a critical assessment of the causes and aftermath of concepts like “linguicide” in most African societies.

Ergativity and anti-passive in Majang – another look

Andreas Joswig, Sil International, Leiden University

1. Introduction

Majang is a Surmic language spoken in widely scattered parts of western Ethiopia – mostly in the eastern parts of Gambella Region. It is the only member of the Northern branch of the Surmic languages (following the classification of Fleming 1983:554, and Yigezu 2002:258). Syntactically, it features the basic order of constituents verb-subject-object (Unseth 1989:97), aligning itself with most of the Southwest Surmic languages, such as Didinga and Murle. The South East Surmic languages (Me'en, Suri and Mursi) have the basic order subject-verb-object.

Schröder (2006:105) suggests that Majang has some ergative structures, and also that an anti-passive marking can be found in the language. She quotes Randal (2000:74) with the following examples of ergative marking in Majang:

Example 1:

1. ùtú-kòⁱ táng-̀ng máaw.
 drink-pst cow-erg water.acc
 "The cow drank water".
2. Dám-kò táng.
 eat-pst cow.acc
 "I ate a cow".
3. rér-kò táng.
 die-pst cow.acc
 "The cow died"

In a footnote Schröder (2006:97) also indicates that Majang displays anti-passive and detransitivisation structures, but she gives no examples of that, and the source of that claim remains unclear.

In this paper it will be shown that, although Schröder's analysis rests on faulty data, her basic assumptions are correct: Majang indeed has a well-developed ergative case marking system and anti-passive structures can be observed in the language. I will briefly explore the passive in Majang, followed by a conclusion.

2. Ergative marking in majang

Just as stated by Randal and Schröder, Majang features a well-developed morphological ergative system. Such a system is characterized by the fact that the morphological marking for the object of a transitive clause (O) is the same as for the subject of an intransitive clause (S), and that the subject of a transitive clause (A) is marked differently (Dixon 1994:9).

A. Morphological properties

The morphological marking of O and S is called *absolutive case*, whereas the marking for A is called *ergative case*. This shall be illustrated with the corrected clauses quoted in example 1:

Example 2:ⁱⁱⁱ

1. ùté kó tân má:w.
drink pst cow.erg water.abs
"The cow drank water"
2. dâ:m kó tán[†].
eat pst cow.abs
"He ate a cow"
3. rěr kó=η tán[†].
die pst=int cow.abs
"The cow died"

As can be seen, the ergative marking clearly does not involve any suffix -η, as was concluded by Randal/Schröder. There is an enclitic =η in the language, which is used to indicate

that a clause does not involve any other overt constituents except the subject (see Unseth (1989:111) who interpreted this marker as an intransitivity marker)ⁱⁱⁱ – this enclitic can be seen in Example 20. Randal’s analysis and transcription probably result from Unseth’s explanation that the ergative in this example is marked by adding a low tone, and that this low tone requires another mora (this would not result in doubling the final consonant, but in having a long vowel *tâ:ŋ*).

In any case, there is no ergative marker -*ŋ* in the language. In fact, apart from the transcription and glossing, the information given by Randal (2000:74) is correct: in this example the subject of the transitive sentence appears to be marked by adding a low tone^{iv} to the absolutive form of the noun (*tâŋ*⁺), although in my data this does not result in any lengthening of consonant or vowel.

This is also the pattern in many other cases:

Example 3:

1. *bòkòt-ú kó:kô tâŋ*⁺.
kill-3s snake.erg cow.abs
“A snake kills a cow”
2. *bòkòt-ú tâŋ kó:kó*⁺.
kill-3s cow.erg snake.abs
“A cow kills a snake”
3. *rěŋ=ŋ kó:kó*⁺.
die=int cow.abs
“The snake dies”

Just as in Example 2, the ergative form of *kó:kó*⁺ “snake” is achieved by adding a low tone to the stem, resulting in *kó:kô* “snake.erg”.

Example 4:

1. *kàw-é wâr è:ʒé*.
bite.3s dog.erg cat.abs
“A dog bites a cat”.
2. *kàw-é è:ʒé: wâr*⁺.
bite.3s cat.erg dog.abs
“A cat bites a dog”.

In these examples, too, ergative is marked by a low tone on both nouns involved (*wár⁺* vs. *wâr*, *è:ʒévs.è:ʒé:*). In the case of *è:ʒé:*, however, the final vowel is also lengthened. As there seems to be no phonological rule responsible for this (contour tones are no problem on short vowels, as long as this happens at the end of a phonological word), it needs to be assumed that two different noun stems are involved for ergative and absolutive. This becomes more apparent when looking at other examples:

Example 5:

1. mál-é ídî tî:n.
hit-3s man.erg child.abs
“A man hits a child”.
2. mál-é tîñ ídít.
hit-3s child.erg man.abs
“A child hits a man”.

The two nouns involved in these examples do not exactly fit the picture of an added low tone for the ergative. *tî:n* “child” has a falling tone on both forms^v – the only difference being a short vowel in the absolutive form, and a long vowel for the ergative. *ídít* “man” does seem to add a low tone for the ergative, but the main change rather seems to be that the consonant /t/ is dropped from the end of the ergative stem. All this is probably best analysed as assuming different absolutive and ergative stems for each noun.

The following table provides more data on absolutive and ergative forms in Majang:

Example 6:

Gloss	absolutive	ergative	gloss	absolutive	Ergative
<i>Fig tree</i>	á:bé	á:bê:	<i>grandfather</i>	ápé: ⁺	ápè
<i>Razor</i>	á:tùj	á: ⁺ tùj	<i>branch/tendril</i>	àtàwàn	àtàwânt
<i>Cloth</i>	àbî:	àbî:	<i>young man</i>	áté:p ⁺	átê:pt
<i>Island</i>	ácù:lé	ácùlê:	<i>mouth</i>	átó ⁺	ât
<i>hunter</i>	ádámójn ⁺	ádámôjnt	<i>Iron</i>	áwé	áwê:t
<i>Cat</i>	àdúré: ⁺	àdúré:	<i>husband</i>	bà:búj	bà:bûj
<i>Thief</i>	àgált ⁺	àgâlt	<i>upper arm</i>	bàdí	bàdí
<i>porcupine</i>	àján	àjân	<i>bucket</i>	bàldî:	bàldî:

<i>Roof</i>	ájé:ràn	ájé:rânt	<i>stool</i>	bàrcúm	bàrcûm
<i>sunset</i>	ájígè	ájígê:	<i>lance</i>	béá ⁺	Béà
<i>peanut</i>	àkú:r ⁺	àkû:r	<i>tradition</i>	báré ⁺	bárêt
<i>soldier</i>	àmàcíní ⁺	àmàcínî:	<i>Bed</i>	bè:rój	bè:rôj
<i>stomach</i>	ámɔ ⁺	âmɔ	<i>butterfly</i>	bímbílò	bímbí ⁺ lôt
<i>Hair</i>	àmùn	àmûnt	<i>boat</i>	émɔ ⁺	êmɔ
<i>Thing</i>	áp ⁺	àp	<i>leopard</i>	dòmòn	dòmôn
<i>elephant</i>	áné ⁺	ànê:	<i>chair</i>	dàngé	dàngê:
<i>breast</i>	àpátí	àpàtî:t	<i>cooking stone</i>	déjín ⁺	déjînt

Interestingly, in many of these forms the ergative is expressed by adding the consonant /t/ to the stem. In the case of *ídít* “man”, however, the /t/ gets deleted in the ergative stem, as seen in example 5.

B. Syntactic properties of noun phrases in a transitive clause

Having established that Majang is a language with a strong morphological ergative system, it is necessary to investigate to which extent ergativity also plays a syntactic role in the language. Most languages with morphological ergative systems do not display any syntactic ergative structures beyond the case marking (Dik 1989: 243–244, Givón 1984: 165–166, Anderson 1976: 11, Andrews 1985:130, VanValin/LaPolla 1997:580).

Very few languages, such as Dyirbal, use the undergoer in a transitive clause as the syntactic subject of the clause. Dik (1989:244) sees such languages^{vi} not as the prototypical ergative system, but as a transitional stage, in which the passive construction of a nominative-accusative language has become the unmarked construction through a markedness shift. Instead, Dik (1989) views languages with a morphological ergative system, but a subject-object relation along the lines of nominative-accusative languages, as the ‘most usual sort of ‘ergative’ language’. The case marking in such languages is ergative, but the ‘*behavioural properties*’ of noun phrases can be described in terms of Subject and Object, with the Subject generalizing over the absolutive noun phrase in the intransitive and the ergative noun phrase in the transitive clause (Dik 1989: 244).^{vii}

Majang is such a language in which ergativity mostly works on the morphological level. In almost all syntactic respects, the actor of a transitive clause (A in Dixon's terminology) functions as the subject^{viii}. The most obvious manifestation of this is in the verb agreement – even in a transitive clause the subject agreement on the verb goes with the semantic actor, the constituent marked by the ergative. In the following example, the subject reference on the verb agrees with the 2s agent of the action, not with the absolutive-marked NP which refers to the undergoer (O) of the action.

Example 7:

ḍāḍām-ùn júmój
eat.ipfv-2s roots.ABS
"You are eating roots!"

Dixon (1994: 94f) calls this '*bound*' vs. '*free*' *split*, predicting that if any split at all happens in this respect, it would happen as is observed in Majang: 'We would expect them [cross-referencing systems, A]) to be on a nominative-accusative pattern.'

Other syntactic properties of a subject would be the ability to work as the pivot (VanValin/LaPolla 1997:275) in multi-clause constructions; it usually means that the subject only needs to be expressed in the matrix clause, but does not need to be overtly expressed in the subordinate or subsequent clause. Such tests can be applied in Majang, and they also show clearly that ergativity does not have a strong syntactic status in the language:

Example 8:

rì:bè bá⁺ tín Wà:kójót à bá⁺
create.3s RMPst 1p.obj Wà:kójó.erg and RMPst

bá⁺ tíná gǎbέ òlà bàṇέ
RMPst 1p.dat give.3s thing.pl all
"Waakoyo created us and gave us everything".

In this example, the proper noun *Wà:kójó* appears in the first clause in the ergative form *Wà:kójót* (with an added consonant in the stem, and apparently no added low tone); in the subsequent clause, the NP referring to the Privileged Syntactic Argument^{ix} is left out (this is also called equi-NP-deletion (Anderson 1976:8)).

In this sentence the deleted NP clearly refers to *Wà:kójót*, which therefore needs to be seen as the controller in the first clause and as the pivot in the second. Based on this evidence (and on the verb-agreement behaviour), it is apparent that in Majang we still need to assume a subject relation, and it does not work along the lines of the morphological absolutive-ergative assignment in a transitive clause. The subject slot in Majang clauses is usually filled by Sand A according to Dixon's terminology. This, as we have already noted, is not an unusual state of affairs in languages with morphological ergative systems.

3. Split phenomena

Many languages with morphological ergative systems do not use them in all possible contexts. If a language displays an ergative-absolutive pattern in one context, and a nominative-accusative pattern in another, the language is said to have split phenomena (Comrie 1989:110), which in all languages happen in accordance with well-known factors, laid out for example in Dixon (1994, chapter 4).

Apart from the already mentioned "bound" vs. "free" split, in Majang the most notable split concerns the nature of the noun phrase in a transitive sentence. If the NP contains a noun (example 3) or a proper noun (example 8), this NP is marked according to the ergative-absolutive system. If the NP is just a pronoun, then it follows a nominative-accusative pattern, as far as this can be determined by the sets of personal pronouns in Majang:

Example 9:

1. cě:n àgált⁺.
he.SUBJ thief
"He is a thief".
2. pò:cí:⁺ cě:n.
thank.1p him.OBJ
"We thank him".

The Majang object pronouns are identical to the subject pronouns in all cases except for the 2nd and 3rd person singular. So only for those two persons can it be determined whether the marking follows the ergative-absolutive pattern, or the nominative-accusative pattern. The 3s subject pronoun (which is rarely used, as the subject is always marked on the verb), is cě:n, with a rising tone. This is used as the subject in the verbless example 9 a). In the transitive example 9 b), the agent is marked as the subject on the verb, whereas the undergoer shows up as an object pronoun, this time only with the low tone. It therefore appears that S and O pronominal noun-phrases are marked tonally different. It consequently makes no sense in Majang to speak of ergative and absolutive pronouns, but rather of subject and object pronouns. This split is quite in line with the situations predicted by Dixon (1994:85), who sees pronominal systems tending towards nominative-accusative.

Another split can be seen in the case of possessed nouns, which apparently never are used with the ergative case:

Example 10:

1. cě:n àgált⁺.
he thief
"He is a thief".
2. dènà àgált⁺.
see.1s thief
"I see a thief".
3. bòkòtú àgált ídíť.
kill.3s thief.erg man.abs
"The thief kills the man".
4. bòkòtú àgált nà:k-è ídíť.

kill.3s thief.loc my-loc man.abs
“My thief kills the man”.

In examples 10 (a-c) the noun agalt ‘thief’ shows up as expected: in the absolutive case as the subject of an intransitive equative clause (example a), in the absolutive case also as the object of a transitive clause (example 10 b), and in the ergative case as the agent of a transitive clause (example 10 c). In example 10 d) however, the noun is used in a possessive noun phrase, again as the agent of a transitive clause. Then the case marking changes from ergative to locative for the whole noun phrase^x, whereas the object continues to be marked as absolutive. The locative case of Majang is also used for the instrumental (Unseth 1989:104), and is therefore the logical case choice to express agency, similar to the preposition *by* in English, which expresses agency in passive constructions.

This kind of split has not been directly described by (Dixon 1994), but it is a natural extension of the nominal hierarchy. (Dixon 1994:84 f) predicts that on a scale ranging from 1st person pronouns down to inanimate nouns any split system will create a cut-off point on this scale, having everything left of it (towards 1st person pronouns) as nominative-accusative, and everything to the right (towards inanimate nouns) as ergative-absolutive. A possessed noun, and a noun marked by demonstratives, is more referential than otherwise unspecified nouns. Such specific reference nouns are to be placed on the nominal hierarchy somewhere between nouns and pronouns, and are therefore more likely to be expressed in nominative-accusative terms.

4. Antipassive in Majang

Dixon (1994:17) states that ergative languages frequently provide antipassive constructions. In the words of van Valin/La Polla (1997: 268) ‘this is the ergative language equivalent of a passive, [...] the actor is no longer ergative (as in the simple active) and appears as subject of a derived intransitive verb and receives absolutive case’. The antipassive in Majang is

formed by adding the suffix *-dî* to the verb. The patient is deleted in many, if not all such clauses. All this is in accordance with descriptions of antipassive by (Palmer 1994:176, Comrie 1989: 108, Payne 1997: 196 and Givón 1990: 624).

Example 11:

1. kàw-é wâr è:ʝé.
bites-3s dog.erg cat.abs
“A dog bites a cat”.
2. kàw-è wâr⁺.
bites-3s dog.abs
“It bites the dog”.
3. káw-dî wâr⁺.
bites-ap dog.abs
“The dog bites”.

This suffix *-dî* seems to be the same as the one identified by Unseth (1989:113) as middle voice. It can be employed for verbs which are semantically transitive, but are used in an intransitive way, indicating that agent and undergoer are not to be distinguished:

Example 12:

- nè ɲù:l-dî béá⁺ né:kê=ɲ.
and break-ap.3s spear.abs his=int
“And his spear broke”.

It therefore makes sense to label the suffix in the future not narrowly as the antipassive marker in Majang, but rather as a general detransitivizer, different from the passive.

The suffix *-dî* attaches itself to the verb root and is followed by the person marker. Whereas in the previous example this suffix appears to be accompanied by a low tone, there are examples where the tonal behaviour is different:

Example 13:

- dén-dî⁺-ká gàbìjôj.
see-ap-1s market.loc
“I saw (sth) at the market”.

In this example the phonetic high tone on *-dî* has the same pitch as the preceding high tone, which clearly indicates that the suffix is inherently toneless and copied this tone. If it had its own lexical high tone, this would be down stepped by a tone rule of Majang – which in fact happens to the lexical high tone on the following 1s suffix *-ká*.

Since Majang does not display syntactic ergativity, it needs to be asked what place the antipassive construction has in the language. Foley/VanValin (1985:335–338) present one of the functions of the antipassive as the ability of a non-central participant to become the pivot in a multi-clause construction (*'foregrounding antipassive'*). Such a need does not exist in Majang, as the agent already is the syntactic subject in a transitive clause, and therefore does not need to be promoted to become the pivot. So, if antipassive is still present in Majang, it can only serve the function of a *'back grounding'* device (Foley/VanValin 1985:338), which is used only to demote the topicality of the patient.

Givón (1990:624–625) shows for Chamorro and Nez Perce that the patient of antipassive clauses *'reveals the lowest possible topicality'*. This means that it is the least likely to have been the topic of the preceding discourse, and is unlikely to persist as topic in the subsequent discourse. Most likely, it is semantically non-referential. As we have seen, the patient in most Majang antipassive clauses is not expressed, and we therefore assume that it also serves mainly as a back grounding device.

5. Passive in Majang

Majang also displays a passive construction (Unseth 1989:112–113), using the suffix *-ε* on the verb stem. As the language is not syntactically ergative, this is not surprising – it needs a device to promote non-agent constituents to the syntactic subject status, to make them eligible to be syntactic pivots in multi-clause constructions, as in the following example:

Example 14:

bò:l-è-é⁺ wár⁺ nè dùrì-é ké "wě:"
 beat-pass-3s dog.abs and cry-3s COMPL ouch!
 "The dog was beaten and cried "ouch!"

Unseth (1989) also observed that he '*could not elicit any passive sentences in which the agent of the action was specified.*' The syntactic function of the passive in Majang should not preclude the presence of an agent; it should be possible to encounter sentences in which the patient is foregrounded to enable its use as the pivot for a subsequent clause, with the agent overtly expressed in the locative case. A complete absence of agents in passive constructions should only be encountered in languages where the passive has the sole purpose of backgrounding the agent. Still, in my data so far I have found nothing contrary to Unseth's (1989) observation.

6. Conclusion

In summary, Majang displays strong features of a morphological ergative system, with some split phenomena along the lines predicted in the typological literature. There is a suffix which among other duties serves as the antipassive marker usually encountered in an ergative system. Using the terminology of Foley and VanValin (1985:340), it can be concluded that Majang is a morphological ergative language with background antipassive constructions and foregrounding passive constructions.

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ⁱThe pst suffix -kö is a typo in Schröder's rendering of this example. I have used Randal's transcription here with an underlined o representing the vowel ɔ, and ng for the nasal ŋ. All other examples in this paper will use my own transcription.

ⁱⁱThe symbol ⁺ denotes that an eventually following word beginning with a high tone would have this high tone down stepped. At the end of a word, this is always caused by a lexical floating low tone, which in this paper is always written, even if there is no environment on which this low tone has an effect, as in examples b) and c).

ⁱⁱⁱFor the purposes of this paper, in all following examples we continue to label the enclitic =ŋ with int for intransitive marker, although this is not its function. To learn more about its use, see Joswig (2015).

^{iv}As the downstep symbol at the end of tán indicates, even in the absolutive this noun (like many others) has a lexical low tone involved, although this appears to be a floating low tone, not showing up on the word itself.

^vIf it is assumed that the stem tone on both forms of the noun is falling, then according to the tonal rules of Majang, adding another low tone to indicate ergative would have no effect – the tone would just remain falling.

^{vi}Dik (1989, p. 244) calls these languages "Type II" languages.

^{vii}Dik (1989, p. 244) calls these languages "Type III" languages.

^{viii}For an exception to this, see Joswig (2015). The absolutive disjoint marking presented there appears to be a Clear, but limited case of syntactic ergativity.

^{ix}Van Valin/LaPolla (1997, p. 281) use this as a cover-term for constituents holding subject properties, such as controller or pivot.

^xOn the singular noun, the possessive is not marked, but the suffix -ε on the possessive marks the whole noun phrase as a locative NP.

Swahili **ma-/-am-** and Mùuré **-m**: A unified account

*Sû-tôôg-nooma Kabore, Sorbonne nouvelle-Paris 3 &
Odile Racine, INALCO/LACITOⁱ*

Abstract

The Swahili nominal prefix **ma-** is considered as a marker of uncountable nouns (**maji** “water”, **maendeleo** “progress”, **mapinduzi** “revolution” **majonzi** ‘sadness, spleen’), of terms regarded by many as plural, such as **meno** “teeth”, **masikio** “ears”, and of yet other terms like **mapesa** “dough, for money”, **masaa** “hours, for a length of time” (the latter two terms belonging to non-standard Swahili). As to the verbal prefix **-am-**, used with a restricted number of verbs, it is labelled stative or static and unanimously associated with a positional value. The two forms are generally considered to be different morphemes.

To our knowledge no study has yet investigated a possible relationship between Mùuré noun suffix and verbal derivative **-m** (**kòom** “water”, **tóolm** “difficulty, hardness”; **nùumé** “to be good, tasty”, **kàlme** “to mix completely”, **bìlmi** “to roll on and on”, **gùmi** “to throng”).

Voeltz (1977:69-70) establishes a correspondence between the Bantu **-am-** and Niger-Congo ***m**. This is an exception.

The basic assumption of this paper is that **ma-** and **-am-** in Swahili on the one hand, and Mùuré nominal **-m** and verbal **-m** on the other, are reflexes of the same morpheme. We shall consider various uses of these reflexes in order to try and find out the basic value of the morpheme. This analysis is realized within the framework of the Theory of Predicative and Enunciative Operations (TOPE: *Théorie des Opérations Prédicatives et Enonciatives*) of Antoine Culioli.

1. Introduction

This paper purports to give a unified account of Swahili noun prefix **ma-** and verb extension **-am-** and of Mùuré noun and verb suffix **-m**.

In Swahili, there are a relatively small number of verbs ending in **-am-**. Such verbs pose a problem to linguists because they are so few that **-am-** does not seem to be productive and one may wonder whether it is an extension like the causative or applicative morphemes, for instance. The relative paucity of the data and their fixed character make it difficult to determine the real value of the morpheme.

Reflexes of both Bantu **ma-** and **-am-** are found in languages of other families, particularly in Mùuré, — a Gur language — in which they are quite productive.

It should be clear that we do not claim any particular genetic relationship between Swahili and Mùuré, beyond the fact they both belong to the Niger-Congo phylum, but we do claim that the noun marker and the verb marker have much in common not only within each individual language, but indeed across the two languages. In other words, we clearly posit a relationship of form and function for nominal and verbal **ma-**, **-am-** and **-m**, a relationship that is generally not even considered. We hope that our conclusions also hold for other languages that have the same markers in some form or other.

The investigation is carried utilizing the framework of the Theory of Enunciationⁱⁱ developed by Antoine Culioli. This theory allows us on the notional domain to give a unified account of Swahili **ma-/am-** and Mùuré **-m**.

The analysis will cover the following points:

1. The Swahili noun marker **-ma** and its reflexes
2. The Swahili verbal extension **-am-**
3. The Mùuré noun marker **-m**
4. The Mùuré verbal marker **-m**.

The varieties considered here are standard Swahili and the variety of Mùuré as spoken around Waodgo in Burkina Faso.

2. The Swahili noun marker /ma-/ and its reflexes

A. The Swahili noun prefix **ma-** is a marker of dense and compact properties

It is widely accepted that the Swahili noun prefix **ma-** marks terms that refer to collective and mass elements. Thus, Ashton (1944, 67) writes:

In this class are also found words which often express a collective idea, but which have no corresponding singular form in the **JI-** class. Such words are:

(a) Names of liquids, etc.

maji	"water"	manukato	"scent"
mate	"saliva"	mavumbi	"dust"
maziwa	"milk"	mafuta	"oil".

(b) Specialized forms of words normally occurring in the **U-** or **N-** classes. These forms impart a collective idea.

pesa	pl. pesa	"piece"	mapesa	"dough (for money)"
unyasi	pl. nyasi	"grass"	manyasi	"grass and weeds in general".

(c) Words derived from verbs with cognate forms in the **U-** class.

(d) Certain abstract nouns of Arabic origin:

maisha	"life"	maana	"meaning"
mauti	"death"	majonzi	"grief"
mali	"wealth"	maridhawa	"abundance".

In all these examples it can be said that **ma-** is a marker of dense and compact properties. Even in cases where **ma-** is viewed as a plural marker, we are not dealing with a plurality of elements standing apart, but rather of elements made dense or compact: the elements are viewed as forming a set, a mass, a collection, a group, a band, etc. Linguists often insist on the fact that terms like eyes or ears take the prefix **ma-** because they form pairs. What matters however is not the number, but the

fact of forming a set such as teeth, eyes, ears, hair, feathers, grass, herbage, heaps of leaves....:

macho “eyes” **masikio** “ears” **meno** “teeth”.

This accounts for the existence sometimes of three or four forms for some terms like:

nyoya 9/10 “feather(s)” **unyoya** “feather” **manyoya** “feathers” (viewed globally as a set).

Thus Shinzuani (Comoro Islands) for instance has the following three forms from the root **aya**: **shaya** (class 7) “finger” (singular), **zaya** (class 8) “fingers”, and **maya** (class 6) a collective form for the set of five fingers of a hand. Similarly, the root **siwa** generates **shisiwa** (class 7) “an island”, **zisiwa** (class 8) “islands” and **masiwa** (class 6) “archipelago”ⁱⁱⁱ.

In such cases, **ma-** is neither singular nor plural, but it is compatible with both interpretations. A collection of elements is a collection of many elements. This explains why in some languages **ma-** can eventually be used as a plural marker.

Referring to mass, collection, heaps, etc., i.e., accumulation, **ma-** also naturally comes to indicate intensity and augmentative values:

manywele “mop of hair”, **mapesa** “dough (of money)”.

B. Reflexes of Swahili noun prefix **ma-** in other families

The Bantu noun prefix **ma-** has suffix reflexes in other families such as Gur and West-Atlantic. The suffixes here have exactly the same value of marking dense and compact terms; moreover they may be used in terms that share the same roots and carry the same meaning across languages (as seems to be the case for “oil” and “milk” in Gulmancema and Mùuré). Compare:

Swahili	Gulmancema	Mùuré	Fulfulde	Meaning ^{iv}
<u>maji</u>	<u>ñíma</u>	<u>kòomí</u>	<u>ndiyam</u>	“water”
<u>maziwa</u>	<u>nàaṅàma/biima</u>	<u>bĩĩsín</u>	<u>kosam</u>	“milk”
<u>mafuta</u>	<u>sàṅkpàma</u>	<u>káam</u>	<u>nebbam</u>	“oil, fat matter”

3. The Swahili verbal extension -am-

A. -Am- is an allomorph of ma-

The relationship between Swahili **-am-** and **ma-** is similar to that between the associative verbal extension **-an-** and the association morpheme **na** that serves as coordinator, aspect marker and also to associate a passive process with its agent. A number of linguists do posit a common origin for **-an-** and **na**. (Schadt 1998, Maslova 2007, Racine & Kabore forthcoming). ^v Consider the following utterance:

1) a. a) **Lulu amemgomba Sami**^{vi}

Lulu	a-me-m-gomb-a	Sami
Lulu	SM1-RESULT-OM1-chide-MM	Sami
“Lulu chided Sami”		

If the process of “chiding” is an associative process, which is achieved with someone else, then the associative marker **-na** is expected:

b. ***Lulu amegomba na**

Lulu	a-me-gomb-a	na
Lulu	SM1-RESULT -chide-MM	in relationship
* “Lulu has been in a quarrelling relationship”		

This string however cannot stand as such: the other member of the relationship must be mentioned. Hence:

c. **Lulu amegomba na na Sami (i.e. Lulu amegombana na Sami)**

Lulu	a-me-m-gomb-a	na	na	Sami
Lulu	SM1-RESULT-chide-MM	in relationship	with	Sami
“Lulu has been in a quarrelling relationship in association with Sami”: “Lulu has quarrelled with Sami”				

When the second member is directly associated with the first, giving here **Lulu na Sami**, and therefore a plural subject (here **wa**), then we get strings like:

d. Lulu na Sami wamegombana

Lulu na Sami wa-me-gomb-an-a

Lulu with Sami SM2-RESULT-chide-ASSOC-MM

“Lulu and Sami have chided each other”: “Lulu and Sami have quarrelled with each other

Now, let us turn back to **-am-** with a string like **-sakama** “be driven into a net”. We consider this string to be formed of **saka + ma**. But just as in **-gombana** (from **-gomba + na**), in which the string **-ana** is reinterpreted as **an + a** (final vowel, or as we rather say, modality marker), we have a parallel reinterpretation of **-sakama** as **-sak-am-a**.

2) Hisia za uchungu zikanisakama (Walibora 2003:94)

Ø-hisia z-a u-chungu

CL.10-feeling CCL.10-CONN CL.11-painful

zi-ka-ni-sak-am-a

CL.10-CONS-OM1-hunt-COMP-MM

“Painful feeling took possession of me” (conquered me, overwhelmed me)

3) ... na Matumula akasakamwa nao kila mahali
(Mapalala 1992:56)

Matumula a-ka-sak-am-w-a

Matumula SM1-CONS-hunt-COMP-PASS-MM

na-o kila ma-hali

in relation with-ANAPH2 each CL16-place

“... and Matumula was then chased heavily [am = pressure on] on by them everywhere...”

Saka (see Johnson 1939:407) means “to catch as of animals in a trap, a net; to drive animals into a trap, a net”. **-Sakama** means “to stick fast, be caught, held, jammed”: in example 2, the

person is overwhelmed by the feeling; in 3-**am-** means that the pressure of the chase is building up, the fugitive is chased and cornered from all quarters.

B. The invariant value of **ma- and **-am-** in Swahili**

3a) The Bantu verbal extension **-am- in the literature**

Considering the values associated with the noun prefix **ma-**, we have come to the conclusion that they can be summed up as dense/compact.

Now, let us see what is said about the extension **-am-** in the literature.

For Doke (1935:199-200), 'stative verbs are those which may be used to indicate a state already achieved and still persisting. He considers that the stative form of the verb is found commonly in Central Bantu languages with the suffix **-ama**.'

Gowlett (1970:197-198) says that in Mbuunda 'this extension indicates that the subject of the verb enters into or is in some bodily or physical (very rarely mental) position, posture, attitude, condition or state.'

Orwig (1989:296-297), who works on languages of the A 60-62 groups, fails to determine the exact meaning of this extension but observes that all the verbs that contain it refer to states or positions.

In Kinyamwezi, Maganga and Schadeberg (1992:164) call it positional stative and add that 'However the existing examples support the idea that this extension is the stative counterpart for the impositive extension **-ik-**.' (see also Schadeberg 2003:75).

Idiata and Mba (2003:73) after comparing a great number of Bantu languages conclude that 'the meaning of **-am** touches "to assume a position" or "to place in a position" often with references to parts of the body.'

Mchombo (2004, 111) also observes that this morpheme is found in some verbs which denote something about body posture or position, but which are completely unproductive in Chichewa and only appear in frozen forms. Indeed the **-am-** suffix, sometimes referred to as "positional extension" is found

commonly in Bantu languages with a fixed set of verbal radicals that denote posture or body position.

Concerning Swahili, Ashton (1944:236) who speaks of the suffix **ma-** says that 'the suffix -MA expresses a stationary condition or one of inactivity.' For Loogman (1965:199), the suffix 'indicates a fixed position which is somewhat permanent and resistant to change' and for Polomé (1967:90) it expresses 'the persistence of a state, ie, the concept of remaining in a stationary position. The verbal form derived from it is therefore described as the static form.'

C. A first approach to the value of -am-: it imparts a compact notion

The above mentioned remarks and the examination of all Swahili verbs containing the extension **-am-** in Johnson's dictionary and of the actual use of such verbs lead to the conclusion that the value of **-am-** turns around:

- Blocking, obstructing, countering, barring; persisting, unchanging, permanent process:

- **simama** "stand, be standing, stand up, rise"
- **kwama** "become jammed, stick fast, come to a deadlock, be gripped, be squeezed"

- **pingama** "be in a position of obstructing, of opposing"
- **kingama** "lie accross, be in the way, obstruct, thwart"
- **egama** "be in a leaning, resting or reclining position"
- **sakama** "stick fast, be caught (held, jammed) as of an animal in a trap or net, and of anything sticking in the throat or feelings".

- Curling up, coiling, winding, intertwined, tangled, compact

- **otama** "squat, sit, be in a sitting or squatting position"
- **zongama** "be coiled up, rolled up"
- **songama** "be rolled or pressed together, writhe, have a twist or bend, press together, coil up by pressure, squeeze, hem in".

- Deposit, sedimentation, condensation, accumulation, compacted, getting solid, congeal, coagulation, freeze
- **tuama** “be in a settled state, settle down, subside, e.g. of muddy water clearing itself”
- **tundama** “settle down, gather, accumulate, e.g. as water at bottom of a well or hole”
- **fumbama** “be in a state of being mystified, and so loose one’s senses”
- **gandama** “be in a condition of sticking together, be stuck, hard, frozen, curdled, coagulated”
- **ungama** “be joined together, united, connected, coherent, interdependent”
- **tungama** “be in firm, compacted state, be firm like a clot, congeal, get thick”.

We have given so many verbs in order to show that the meaning we advocate is quite regular. Here are examples of a few utterances in which the extension **-am-** is used:

Compact position

4) **Kazi hii ukitaka kuifanya kama itakikavyo basi usikae kitako bali otama** (Bakhressa 1992, 298).

Ø-kazi	hi-i	u-ki-tak-a	
CL9-work	PROX-CCL9	SM1-CONC-want-MM	
ku-i-fany-a	kama	i-Ø-tak-ik-a-vyo	
CL15-OM9-do-MM	as	SM9-PRES-want-STAT-MM-REL8	
basi	u-si-ka-e	ki-tako	bali
then	SM1-NEG-sit-MM	CL7-buttock	but
			sit- <u>COMP</u> -MM

“This work, if you want to do it as it needs, then don’t sit down but squat.”

The use of **otama** here indicates a compact, centre-oriented position: bending, squatting.

5) **Asali imegandama na bakuli.** (Johnson 1939, 110)

Ø-asali	i-me-gan- <u>am</u> -a
CL9-honey	SM9-RESULT-be stuck- <u>COMP</u> -MM

Na Ø-bakuli
in relation with CL9-basin
“The honey is sticking to the basin.”

Merging with the surroundings

- 6) ... **labda Binti Hiliyo amefichama tu mahali fulani.**
(Chachage 1985, 106)

Labda	Ø-binti	Hiliyo		
perhaps	CL9-daughter	Hiliyo		
a-me-fich- <u>am</u> -a		tu	ma-hali	fulani
SM1-RESULT-hide- <u>COMP</u> -MM		only	CL16-place	some

“... probably Hiliyo’s daughter was just hidden somewhere.”

In the one case, the honey adheres to the basin so as to make it difficult to separate them. In the second case, the girl is not just hiding, she has vanished altogether as if she had merged with the surroundings wherever she is, which makes it difficult to find her out.

D. Invariant value of -am- and ma-: centre-oriented processes

Whether we speak of condensation, coagulation, curling up, deposit or sedimentation, we are dealing with a centre-oriented process, a movement of concentration. When elements in suspension, instead of staying away and getting further away from one another fall down they concentrate, producing a deposit, a sedimentation. When two or more elements adhere to one another, stick to one another, this means that instead of being separated, getting away or standing away from one another, they head towards one another to the point of eventually becoming a “*single*” element and this too is a centre-oriented process. According to the properties of the elements involved, the link between them could be any type of adherence or interpenetration, interweaving. Freezing, coagulation and

petrification are typically centre-oriented processes: as the item adheres to itself so to speak it gets solid, dense, and compact. Of course curling up, writhing, rolling up (cf. **songama**), winding, etc. are again centre-oriented processes. Since very often with such processes two or more elements are concerned (one adhering to another, sticking to another, bending towards another, leaning on another, etc.), quite naturally many of these verbs in **-am-** also take the associative extension **-na** or the applicative extension **-i** as in:

- **egamia** “rest on, lean on, recline on”
- **inamia** “bow to, incline towards, depend on”
- **gandamana** “be in a condition of sticking fast together”
- **fungamana** used of “interlacing branches”
- **shindamana** “be firmly pressed together”.

Here is an example with the **-am-an-** cluster:

- 7) **Fondogoo ya marundo ya taka zilizotota maji ya mvua na mikojo ya watu, ilichangamana na harufu ya vinyesi (...), vikaunda mseto wa mnuko mbaya** (Walibora 2003, 110)

Ø-fondogoo	i-a	ma-rundo	i-a	
CL.9-stench	CL.9-CONN	CL.6-heap	CL.6-CONN	
Ø-taka	zi-li-zo-tot-a			
CL.9-rubbish	OM10-PAST-REL10-be wet-MM			
ma-ji	i-a	N -vua	na	mi-kojo
CL.6-water	CL.6-CONN	CL.9-rain	and	CL.4-urine
i-a	wa-tu	i-li-chang-am-an-a		
CL.4-CONN	CL.2-person	OM9-PAST-share-COMP-ASSOC-MM		
na	Ø-harufu	i-a	vi-nyesi	
with	CL.9-smell	CL.9-CONN	CL.8-excrement	
vi-ka-und-a		m-seto	u-a	
MO8-CONS-form-MM		CL.3-mixture	CL.3-CONN	
m-nuko	m-baya			
CL.3-stench	CL.3-bad			

“The stench of the rubbish heaps waterlogged by the rain and by people’s urine, mixed up with the smell of excrements, was producing a sickening smell.”

We can now understand why in Swahili rather few roots take the extension **-am-**. Such roots already convey somehow the idea of centre-oriented value or at least are highly compatible with that value (pressure, twist, curl, freeze, stick, etc.).

In other words, there is a strong constraint on the roots that can take the extension **-am** as there must be total congruence between root and affix. Similarly there is strong congruence between the root and **-am-** on the one hand and on the other hand the associative marker **-na** which indicates that there are elements associated in the centre-oriented process, or the applicative marker **-i** that indicates towards what element the centre-oriented process (marked by **-am-** is directed, what it applies to).

Whether it originates in the element itself (as for the wriggling snake) or forced upon it, the centre-oriented process is generally a strong movement, causing constraint (turning, twisting, interlacing, rolling, bringing pressure on, blending, causing to jam, to stop, checking or blocking). The force or intensity of the process depends on the verb root, but it is most often there as can be seen in Johnson’s definitions in which the terms *firm/firmly* are recurrent.

The centre-oriented property of the process (cf. curling, rolling, freezing, etc.) also naturally leads to the formation of a heap, a mass, of something dense and compact. And this takes us back to the noun class prefix **ma-** of which we have said that it marks dense and compact items. The definition of both terms (dense and compact) refers to the internal structure of the items, the relationship of the elements that compose them. **Dense** is defined as “crowded, close together, compact; thick or impenetrable”, and **compact**^{vii} is also defined as “closely and firmly united or packed together”. Again we note that naturally terms like “closely, united, firmly, packed” come to the mind^{viii}. In other words we can say that whether for verbs with **-am-** or

for nouns with **ma-**, we do have the same invariant value of a centre-oriented process.

4. The Mòuré noun marker **-m**: dense and compact

A. Dense and compact entities in Mòuré

All Mòuré nouns that have the suffix **-m** refer to dense entities like:

- **kòom** “water”
- **káam** “fat matter, oil, butter”
- **zóm** “flour”

or compact entities like:

- **yám** “intelligence”
- **kúũm** “death”
- **béem** “enmity”.

B Minimized entities in **-mde** in Mòuré

Mòuré has a class suffix **-re** that has a singular value (where number applies) and also indicates smallness. Thus:

- | | |
|---------------------------|---------------------------|
| - tùbré “ear” | tùbá “ears”. |
| - wámde “calabash” | wáma “calabashes”. |

Since dense and compact entities cannot be directly enumerated, terms referring to them are not expected to take morphemes that would indicate a singular or a plural value. However forms are very often coined from terms in **-m** by adding the suffix **-re**. Such terms ending in **-mde** (/r/ becomes [d] after a nasal consonant) invariably have a minimization value. This is an appreciation value meaning that quantitatively and qualitatively the entity is viewed as very small, tiny, insignificant. There is no plural to such terms, since **-mde** is not singular; **-m** is kept to indicate that the dense or compact value remains, and **-re** indicates that just some small part is considered, giving the minimization value:

- **káamdé** “just a little bit of oil”, as opposed to **káam** “fat matter, oil”
- **zómdé** “just a little bit of flour”, as opposed to **zóm** “flour”

- **yámdé** “just a little bit of intelligence”, as opposed to **yám** “intelligence”.

8) **yāwā ka tar yámd búug báa báá**

yāwā	ka	tar	yámd
this one-the	NEG	have	intelligence- MIN

búug	báa	báá
kind- MIN	even	Even

“This guy here does not have the smallest kind^{ix} of intelligence at all.”

5. The Mùuré verbal marker **-m**

Alongside with nouns in **-m** referring to things of dense and compact properties, Mùuré also has a lot of verbs with the derivative suffix **-m**, many of whom indicate a state or situation:

nùumé: “to be good, tasty” **zùlmé:** “to be deep”.

State processes are dense or compact. They are seen globally, as a unit.

A. Minimized processes in **-mde in Mùuré**

We have just seen that some Mùuré nouns in **-m** referring to items with dense or compact properties also have minimization counterparts with the class suffix **-re** (ultimately giving **-mde**):

- **káamdé** “just a little bit of oil”
- **zómdé** “just a little bit of flour”
- **yámdé** “just a little bit of intelligence”.

As indicated above, such minimization terms still refer to minimized dense or minimized compact elements. Likewise Mùuré has a great number of verbs of minimization value. They are formed with the same markers **m + re**, i.e.

- **mde**. Compare:
- **pége** “to wash” (dense: “be busy washing”)

- **pékkè** “to wash” (discrete singular: “to achieve an instance of the process of washing, viewed as a single separate one”)

- **pégsè** “to wash” (discrete plural: “to achieve many instances of the process of washing, viewed as separate”)

- **pégmdè** “to wash” (minimization form: “to achieve the process of washing, as a minimized one, i.e. “to do it in no time on what is considered to be a particularly insignificant object”).

- **rígi** “to tremble” (dense)

- **rígmdì** “to shudder” (minimization form)

- **góle** “to variegate” (dense process)

- **gólse** “to write” (discrete plural, as writing implies repeated action and a contrast of colour between what is written and the background).

- **gólmdè** “to change colour in no time” (particularly of meat put into water to be cooked; minimization form).

As with nouns, minimization processes remain dense or compact.

These examples show that the same morphemes are used in verbs and nouns with the same value. Now let us turn to **-m** alone in verbs.

B. Dense and compact processes

We are not coming back to the definition of dense and compact. Compact processes (whether in **-m** or not) are comparable to compact nouns in that they are self-contained, not rugged, not made up of separate, discrete elements but refer to steady, smooth, unchanging states such as:

- **nùumé** “to be good, pleasant”

- **zùlmé** “to be deep”

- **kéeme** “to be in good health”

Let us consider this second set of verbs in **-m**:

- **bìlmi** “to roll on and on, to get something roll on and on”

- **gílmi** “to turn round and round”

- **mùmi** “to close (eyes, mouth, hand), to bury”

- **yùumi** “to twirl on and on”
- **yìlmi** “to go about here and there, endlessly, not knowing what to do, unable to find what one is looking for”
- **gùmi** “to throng (around)”
- **gùme** “to collect vegetable on the ground by cutting it with the nails, on a large surface”
- **yìlme** “to do something repeatedly, over and over again”
- **yùlme** “to spill around (e.g. “to spill flour about”)”
- **sàlme** “to caress (over and over)”.

These are dense processes and most of them have discrete counterparts with other derivatives.

C. Invariant value of **-m** in Mùré verbs: centre-oriented processes

In the second set of examples above, the first six have bases that clearly refer to the notion of a circle or at least to a curved shape.

Actually the same basic notion prevails with the other four verbs: the process is carried within or all around or all through the space considered. One might therefore conclude that the circular movement, the repetitive process, the curved character, etc. only belong to the root. If that is the case, it would mean that **-m** has no function of its own.

Now let's go back to our examples to try and understand the contribution of **-m** to the general meaning of the derived verb.

- The base **bil-**

From the base **bil-** (notion of rolling) is derived the verb **bilgi** (**bil** + discrete singular **g**) “to turn over once, to roll over once”, and also **bìlsi** “to roll over, to turn over many discrete times”. The presence of **-m** in **bìlmi** adds a shade of its own; it indicates that the rolling movement is such that every single point of the object (stone, bicycle wheel, barrel etc.) is concerned (the object is not half or three-quarters rolled) and the movement goes on and on:

9) **bìlm wèefǎ ñ tì kùs a soabá**

bìlm weef- yǎwǎ ñ tì kùs a soabá
roll-INJ. bicycle-the CONN go give [of] it owner

“Roll the bicycle and go and give it to its owner”.

- The base **gil**

This base refers to the notion of a curve, of producing a movement with a curve. It generates a first base with a low tone, **gìl** that conveys the idea of acting on something, of exerting a movement on it in order to give it a round shape, with a volume. Thus

10) **gìl safǎndè**

gìl safǎndè
mould into a lump soap
“to mould soap into lumps” (when making
traditional soap)

11) **à gílá a nugǎ n wĩ máam**

à gílá a nugǎ n
s/he form into a lump s/she hand-the conn
wĩ máam
hit me

“He hit me with his fist”

12) **kǎãg sagdǎ ñ gíl ká**

kǎãg sagd-ǎ ñ gíl ká
rake-INJ. waste-the CONN form into a lump here

“rake the waste and make it into a round heap here:
rake around the waste and put it into a heap here”.

The same form generates another base, with a high tone, **gíl** that conveys the idea of a curve, a deviation around, a roundabout way, with the purpose of avoiding something or someone. The movement here is not exerted on something

(forming it into some more or less circular mass) and no volume is implied. It is carried around some central point actual or imaginary.

(13) gíl kaafã

gíl	kaaf-ǎ
make a deviation-INJ.	millet-the
“Make a deviation around the millet plant” (not to destroy it)	

14) à sã n wà ká fãã à gíndà máam

a	sã	n	wà	ká	fãã	à
s/he	if	CONN	come- CPL.	here	all	s/he
gín-d-à				máam		
make a deviation-ICP-EFF.				me		
“Whenever he comes here he avoids me (he makes a deviation around me)”						

The verb **gílgì** (**gíl** + the discrete singular derivative **-g**) means “turning around (once), making a complete tour around (once)”.

Now, **gíl** + the derivative **-m** gives the verb **gílmì** that means “go around over and over again”:

15) fò sáad n gílm-dà mí n bàood bũĩ?

fò	sáa-d	n	gílm-d-à ^x
you	go about-ICP	CONN	turn around-ICP- EFF.
mí	n	bàoo-d	bũĩ?
USC	CONN	look for- ICP	what

“you are turning around and around looking for what?”

- The base **yu-**

The base **yu-** generates **yùugi**, with the singular derivative **-g**. This verb refers to a round tour: one takes a round tour and comes back to where one started off:

(16) **yùug la f wâ**

yùug la f wâ
make a tour- INJ. CONN you come- INJ.

“Take a tour (for instance in town) and come back”.

If one goes from point A to point B for some purpose and has to come back to A, then **yùugi** means that the whole process of going and coming is repeated (the default value being once): for instance, “go to the river (for water), come back, go again, and come back”.

The verb **yùusi**, with the discrete plural derivative **-s** indicates a discrete plural process; one makes a to and fro movement to various directions, or turns around, all over the place, as when searching in vain for something:

(17) **fò sáad n yùusda mí n bàood bǔĩ?**

fò sáa-d n yùus-d-a
you go about- ICP CONN go in all directions- ICP -EFF.

mí n bàoo-d bǔĩ?
USC CONN. look for- ICP what?

“you are going about in all directions looking for what?”

The verb **yùumi** (**yù** + derivative **-m**), because of the **-m** means that it is a dense, closed in process, going round and round: “to twirl” (a sling or a hammer).

In all the examples we have considered, the process is carried over and over within a closed space-time circuit. This probably explains the affinity of the morpheme **-m** with bases that indicate a curved path. But even with bases that do not imply a closing circuit, **-m** will add that meaning and the characteristic of going on and on. Thus with the root **sa-**, “notion of going through some surface”, we get **sá** “to go about some place, everywhere”, **sáagè** “to go through a space, once” (it can be longitudinal or not); we also get **sálmè** (**sá** + **l** + **m**) “to caress” (i.e. gowing through a small area of the body in a circular movement over and over again).

The verb **sáamèxi** “to dilute (stiff porridge)” has the suffix **-m**: the process is done by repeatedly pressing the piece of stiff porridge (that is closing the hand on it over and over again) in water.

From the base **gã** is generated a verb **gãde** “to hold” and also the verb **gãme**. The latter, with the derivative **-m** means “to clutch and cling at” (with intensive overtone), i.e., “to hold in such a way that the holder and what is held are closely united, inseparable”, as when a sparrow-hawk holds a chick between its claws, or as when some male animals copulating firmly maintain the female, or as dog’s tooth grass holds on things.

The verb **kàlme** (with the morpheme **-m**) means “to mix, to blend” (from **kàle** “to put something in between, to intertwine”).

(18) **rá kalm̐ f fúttã ní màm dīndã kóe!**

rá	kalm̐	f	fúttã	ní	màm
NEG. INJ.	mix	[of] you	clothes-the	with	[of] me
dīndã kóe!					
own-the threat-marker					
“Don’t mix up your clothes with mine!”					

According to what is being mixed, the process often implies stirring:

(19) **kàlm zómã ní vããdã sũmbó**

kàlm	zómã	ní	vããdã	sũmbó
mix- INJ.	flour-the	with	leaves-the	well
“Mix the flour with the leaves (vegetable leaves) well”.				

The base **ga** generates a verb **gàage** (with the discrete singular derivative **g**) that means “to pass something, a rope, for instance, around something else in order to block it or pull it back”. With the derivative **-m**, it yields **gãame** which indicates that the process is done over and over again around the object: here it implies that what is used can pass around things over and over. This is case when threads or thread like things are

used in order to join many points and thus make a network (a macramé for instance), or when a spider knits its cobweb around insects. It is also used about mixed up meaningless speech or about mingling leaves, water and flour till the flour and the leaves are completely intermingled (in a way, the flour is caught up in the leaves).

The verb **kããmè** (**kã**+ derivative **-m**) is used about straw and means “to plait, to intertwine”: many elements are forcibly brought to interpenetrate one another (centre-orientation) and eventually form a single element.

The verb **pãnme** (**pãn** + derivative **-m**) also means “to plait”, but it is used mainly for hair, or such fine things (locks of hair are intertwined, forming a unit).

The verb **rũmi**, “to bite”, implies that one drives one’s teeth deeply into the element (centre-oriented process).

The verb **lĩmi**, with the derivative **-m**, means “to cover up/be covered up completely” (in water; or a sound covering another sound)

(20) **kòomã límà mám púugã**

kòom-ã	lím-à	mám	púug-á
water-the	cover up- EFF.	me	field-the
“the water has covered up my field”.			

The various examples show that the **-m** is used to form verbs that denote centre-oriented processes. The fact that many verbs in **-m** have roots that imply a curved process just means that there is strong congruence between the meaning of the verb root and the value of the suffix **-m**.

6. Conclusion

We have chosen to tackle the relationship between verbal and nominal derivatives, a problem that is rarely considered within one language, and still less across languages and across language families whether they belong to the same phylum or not.

We have established that both morphologically and semantically, the noun prefix **ma-** and the verbal extension **-am-** are one and the same morpheme in Swahili as are the “two” **-m** in Mùuré nominal and verbal systems.

The relationship that holds between **ma-** and **-am-** in Swahili is similar to the relationship between the association marker **na** and the verbal extension **-an-**. In other words, one might just say that we have a single morpheme /**ma**/ throughout as we have a single morpheme /**na**/. The invariant value of the morpheme /**ma-**/, through its allomorphs **ma-**, **-am-** and **-m** in the two languages is to impart a centre-oriented property resulting in dense and compact values.

In Swahili the paucity of verbs with **-am-** as opposed to the great number of nouns in **ma-** is due to the fact that a stronger constraint is imposed on the verbs; that is, very strong congruence is required between the meaning of the verb root and the value of the affix.

In Mùuré too there is congruence between the verb root and the affix, but it would seem that the contribution of **-m** to the meaning of the verb is probably more important and this explains why the derivation process with **-m** is quite alive and very productive.

The fact that the morpheme /**ma-**/ indicates a centre-oriented property accounts for all the meanings in both nouns and verbs that we have considered in both languages, particularly the curling up, coiling, winding, intertwining, tangling, connexion, adherence, coherence, interdependence and union, compacting, pressing, squeezing, accumulating, condensing, freezing, blocking, firmness, thickness, stability, persistence, endless repetition and permanence and even the massive and intensive aspects in Swahili but also the minimization aspect in Mùuré as **-m** is then associated with another suffix that indicates that a small part is extracted from the regular dense or compact item.

We must add however that the problem of Mùuré **-m** is not quite settled as there are forms with **-m** that do not seem to belong to the same set as those we have considered: they may have a different history. In other words there may be at least

two **-m** as we have two **-s**, one as a plural marker and the other as a causative/factive marker.

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ⁱINALCO: Institut National des Langues et Civilisations Orientales ; LACITO : Laboratoire des Langues et Civilisations à Tradition Orale.

ⁱⁱGenerally referred to as TOPE: Théorie des Opérations Prédicatives et Enonciatives, and sometimes as TOE : Théorie des Opérations Enonciatives.

ⁱⁱⁱThe Shizuani examples were kindly given to us by Mohamed Ahmed Chamanga.

^{iv}The Gulmancema examples are borrowed from Benoît Ouoba (1994) and the Fulfulde examples from Aliou Mohamadou

^vMadan (1903, reed. 1992:272-273): “**Na** is a Bantu particle used as a conj., prep. and with a verbal signification, with the general idea of connexion, association or the opposites.” Schadt (1998:915) is quite explicit; for him, the original form is **na** and not **-an-** as Voeltz (1977:65-66) thought. Maslova (2007:342) also writes: “The Bantu languages have a single NP-conjunction marker, **n(a)**, which functions both as a comitative marker and as a coordinate conjunction.”

^{vi} ANAPH	anaphoric
COMP	compact
CL	class marker (followed by class number)
CLC	class concord marker (followed by class number)
CONN	connective morpheme
CONS	consecutive (aspect marker)
CPL	completed aspect
EFF	effectivity marker
ICP	incompleted aspect
INJ	injunction
LOC	locative
MIN	minimization
MM	modality marker
NEG	negative
NEG. INJ	negative injunction
PASS	passive (verbal extension)
PROX	proximity
REL	relative marker (followed by class number)
RESUL	resultative marker
SM	subject marker (followed by class number)
STAT	stative (verbal extension)
USC	unspecified complement.

^{vii} For the technical definition of these terms, see Culioli (1999:14).

^{viii} We should not forget that the verb “compact” (“to join or press firmly together”) in its Latin etymology is formed of **cum** and **pangere** “to fasten”.

^{ix} **Yámdé** is a minimization form for **yám** “intelligence”, but **búug(u)** is also a minimization form for the regular term **búudu** “kind, type, species”. For technical reasons, it has proved impossible to mark tone on most nasal vowels.

^x We do not have the minimization **-md** cluster here; **-d** is the incomplete aspect marker.

^{xi} From a root **sa** different from the one above.

Formes nominales en pólrì

Wega Simeu, Université de Yaoundé 1

Abstract

This paper aims at analyzing the noun morphology system of Pólrì, a Bantu transitional language of group A, spoken in the Eastern region of Cameroon. It has been respectively classified as 462 by Dieu and Renaud (1983), and A 92a by Guthrie, who also considers it as belonging to the Kako group (A90). The analysis falls within the framework of structuralism. The paper focuses on the fact that, historically, the language has undergone many morphological and syntactic changes due to contact with the neighbouring non-bantu languages such as Baka and Gbaya. The relevant fact is the phenomenon of double prefixation in plural forms caused by the frozen historical PROTO- BANTU nouns prefixes, which still exist in the language just like remains or vestiges and do not involve any syntactic agreement as it is usually the case in many current Bantu languages.

Moreover, the criteria of a grammatical gender system that Guthrie (1948) claimed to be at least usually five in many Bantu languages is not respected because many noun prefixes no longer exist. The native speakers then use a creative and innovative grammatical gender in the language

1. Introduction

Cet article analyse le nominal indépendant du pólrì. La problématique de cet article réside dans le statut typologique des langues du groupe Kako en générale et du polri en particulier. En d'autres mots, la classification que donnent les auteurs au sujet de cette langue est contradictoire et

divergente. Pour Strumpell (1910) et Tessman (1932), les langues du groupe Kako sont semi-bantu ; pour Samarin (1958) et Monino (1971), les langues A90 sont non-bantu (Oubanguiennes) ; pour Guthrie (1948) et Richardson (1956), ces langues sont sous- bantu. Le débat semble ainsi ouvert au sujet de la typologie de la langue en étude (pólri).

Loin d'être donc une description plate des structures nominales du pólri, cet article questionne ou mieux remet en cause les conclusions données par ces auteurs au sujet de la typologie de la langue en étude.

Notre objectif dans cette analyse est double. D'abord nous voulons dévoiler la structure du nominal indépendant dans cette langue ; ensuite nous voulons démontrer que bien que classé parmi les langues bantu A et présentant les propriétés phonologiques et morphologiques de ce grand groupe linguistique, le pólri présente un système nominal particulier et innovant.

La littérature sur le pólri n'est pas consistante ; juste deux travaux scientifiques sur la phonologie et la morphologie verbale (cf. Wega Simeu 2004 et 2007). Ernst (1985) a entrepris quelques travaux descriptifs sur la langue kako qui appartient au même groupe linguistique. L'auteur n'a jamais évoqué le problème de la double préfixation ni de la disparition des classes nominales qui caractérisent le sous- groupe kako.

A cet effet, nous définirons ce qu'on entend par préfixe nominal et classe nominale dans les langues bantu. Par la suite nous démontrerons que ces derniers sont absents ou irréguliers en pólri. Qu'est ce qui expliquerait l'absence des classes nominales et des schèmes d'accord dans une langue bantu A ? Comment donc se manifeste l'expression du genre et du nombre en pólri ? Dans cet article, notre souci est de répondre à ces interrogations.

2. Structure du nominal indépendant

Le nominal indépendant dans les langues bantu est un substantif, il est dit indépendant parce qu'il joue un rôle très important dans l'énoncé, où il régit ou gouverne tous les

accords de l'énoncé à travers son préfixe. Des travaux dans les langues bantu ont démontré que le nominal indépendant présente toujours un préfixe qui est la partie variable du substantif et c'est le champ de manifestation du genre et du nombre. Les études antérieures dans les dites langues montrent également que la structure générale du substantif ou nominal indépendant est la suivante : (cf. Mutaka 1994, Essono 2000).

Nominal Indépendant = (préfixe figé) + radical + suffix

Représentation graphique:

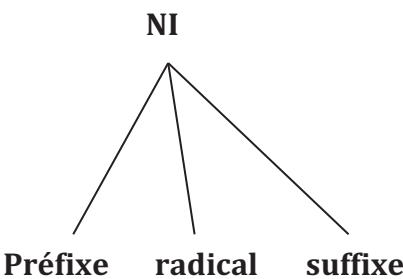


Figure 23.1 : Structure du nominal en pólri

Comme le montre ce graphe, le substantif pólri comprend trois éléments qui sont: le préfixe figé, le radical nominal et le suffixe qui est surtout présent dans les nominaux dérivés. Nous n'avons pu identifier que deux préfixes variables ; mais il est difficile de dire s'il s'agit des préfixes nominaux ou des préfixes de classes.

Exemple 1:

- | | | | | | |
|-----|-----------|----------|---------------|------|--------|
| (a) | muè-aàn | [mwaân] | "enfant" | | |
| | boè-aàn | [bwaân] | "les enfants" | | |
| | muè-uètiè | [muètiè] | "quelqu'un" | | |
| | boè-uètiè | [buètiè] | "les gens" | | |
| (b) | mwaân | dó | àká | ùna | âďáè |
| | enfant | Pos | Dém | prés | manger |

"ton enfant-ci mange".

ɓwaân dó àká ùna âďǎè
enfant(pl) Pos Dém prés manger
"tes enfants-ci mangent"

jiàkàà mwaân jaè wañgòì-iùm
autre enfant Dém arriver P1
"cet autre enfant est arrivé"

ɓè- jiàkàà ɓwaân jaè wañgòì-iùm
pl autre enfant(pl) dém. arriver P1
"ces autres enfants là sont arrivés"

A partir de ces exemples il est difficile de dire si le préfixe **muè-** est un préfixe nominal (ou préfixe de classe). Le problème est donc de savoir ce qu'on entend par préfixe nominal et classe nominale dans les langues bantu.

A. Préfixe nominal et classe nominale

Nous nous proposons dans ce paragraphe, d'évaluer ce qui a été dit jusqu'ici au sujet des préfixes et des classes nominales dans les langues bantu, par la suite, nous soulignerons les limites de cette théorie dans les données du pólri qui présente plutôt des préfixes figés.

B. Le préfixe nominal

Dans la littérature bantouiste, on entend par préfixe nominal, un affixe à forme variable qui se place devant le thème nominal et qui constitue avec ce dernier un substantif ou nominal indépendant et qui dicte son accord dans l'énoncé. Cet affixe reçoit plusieurs appellations : certains l'appellent *morphème classificateur* (Essonno 2000) d'autres l'appellent '*class prefix*' (Mutaka 1994), d'autres enfin préfèrent la dénomination de *morphème de classe* (Bot Ba Njock 1970). A partir des travaux effectués par ces auteurs bantouistes et bien d'autres, nous retenons que le préfixe nominal en langues bantu a une structure segmentale facilement identifiable à partir des modifications morphologiques inhérentes à la flexion et la

rection du nominal dans un énoncé. La littérature bantouiste retient généralement trois (3) critères pour identifier et définir la notion de classe nominale. Ces critères sont les suivants :

1. **La forme du préfixe nominal** ; généralement la structure du préfixe nominal est de structure V-, ou CV- et porte toujours un ton bas.

2. **La marque de l'accord** ; généralement chaque préfixe nominal a son préfixe référent ou morphème d'accord dans le syntagme et l'énoncé.

3. **L'appariement** ; le rapprochement singulier / pluriel permet rapidement d'identifier le préfixe nominal.

Kadima (1969 : 82) précise que deux classes sont distinctes si elles diffèrent par leurs accords et si leurs préfixes nominaux sont distincts. Dans le cas d'une identité des morphèmes d'accord, il faut absolument que les préfixes nominaux soient différents pour que l'on parle de classes distinctes.

Le rapprochement singulier / pluriel et l'accord sont les critères majeurs qui permettent dans les langues bantu d'attribuer une classe à un préfixe nominal. Le préfixe nominal bantu est donc un affixe qui génère des schèmes d'accord en classe dans un énoncé. Cela veut dire que le préfixe nominal, ou préfixe de classe ou morphème classificateur a toujours son référent avec lequel il s'accorde dans l'énoncé ; c'est pourquoi Guthrie (1967 : 10) parle de '*concord prefix*'. Il écrit : 'A concord prefix (frequently termed simply "prefix") is any prefix element that serves to operate the system of grammatical agreement. That is the characteristic of every Bantu language. When any particular prefix is quoted, it is always followed by a hyphen.'

La fonction du préfixe nominal est de faciliter la répartition des nominaux indépendants en classe. Le préfixe nominal étend le thème nominal en substantif ou constituant syntaxique. Syntaxiquement il marque l'accord dans l'énoncé, accord qui montre la coréférence et la cohérence entre la classe du nominal indépendant et celle du nominal dépendant. En considérant les exemples sus mentionnés et ceux qui vont suivre, on peut affirmer sans aucun risque de se tromper que le pòlri ne possède pas de préfixes nominaux ni de classes nominales au sens bantu du terme.

Exemples 2:

jiàkàà saàma àjaè waèñgói-iùm
autre mouton ce arrivé p₁
"cet autre mouton est arrivé"

ḡàè-jiàkàà saàma àjaè waèñgói-iùm
Pl autre mouton ce arriver p₁
"ces autres moutons sont arrivés"

ḡàè-jiàkàà saàma àlaâli àjaè waèñgói-iùm
Pl autre mouton trois ce arriver p₁
"ces autres trois moutons sont venus"

ḡàè-jiàkàà ḡwaân taèn jaè wañgói-iùm
Pl autre enfants cinq ce arriver p₁
"ces autres cinq enfants sont venus"

ḡàè-jiàkàà foàro àmba àjaè dièḡáèlòè tḡoèsiè
Pl autre chapeaux deux ce dur prix
"ces autres deux chapeaux sont chers"

Toutefois, nous avons noté quelques résidus de préfixes bantu dans les termes renvoyant à l'espèce humaine et dans certains substantifs mais ces préfixes restent gelés au thème nominal pendant la flexion, d'où notre hésitation à les appeler préfixe de classe. Ce sont des vestiges de préfixes substantivaux.

C. Vestiges de préfixe nominal

L'examen de l'ensemble des nominaux indépendants de notre corpus présente en plus du préfixe de forme $\emptyset$ -, trois préfixes variables de forme segmentale CV- et quatre autres préfixes figés de forme segmentale V- et CV-. Nous nous proposons de décrire ces deux types de préfixes identifiés en polrì. Nous commencerons par les préfixes variables, ensuite nous analyserons les préfixes figés. Dans le tableau ci-dessous

nous présentons d’abord une vue synoptique de ces préfixes avant de passer à leur analyse.

classe historique	préfixe proto-bantu	préfixe résiduel pólri	réalisation
1	muì-	muì- / ø-	[m-] [mw-]
2	baì-	äoì- / óáè-	[ów-][ó-][óòè-]
5	ìì-	àì-	[aò-]
4	Miè	miè-	[miò-], [mj-]
6	Maì	mái-	[m-],[mɛò-]
8	bìì-	äìì-	[óìè-],

Tableau 23.1 : Vestiges de préfixes de classes pólri

1. Les préfixes variables

Nous entendons par préfixes variables les préfixes qui sont utilisés actuellement dans la langue par les locuteurs pour exprimer le nombre (singulier ou pluriel), marquant ainsi un genre créatif ou innovant dans la famille bantu A.

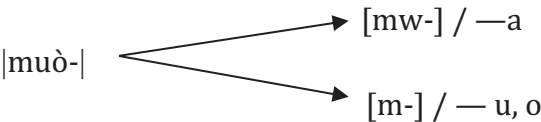
2. Les préfixes variables de forme CV-

La structure préfixale CV représente la forme canonique des trois préfixes que contient le poàlriè. Dans cette forme on retrouve aussi bien les préfixes du singulier que ceux du pluriel. Les préfixes que nous avons retrouvés sous cette forme sont : |muè-|, |óòè-|et |óáè-|.

3. Le préfixe |muè-|.

Nous avons identifié ce préfixe devant cinq (5) thèmes nominaux ayant le trait [+humain].Il a deux réalisations phonétiques à savoir [m-] et [mw-], d’où la règle ci- dessous :

Règle:



Lecture : |muò-| se réalise [mw-] devant la voyelle /a/, [m-] devant les voyelles /u,o/.

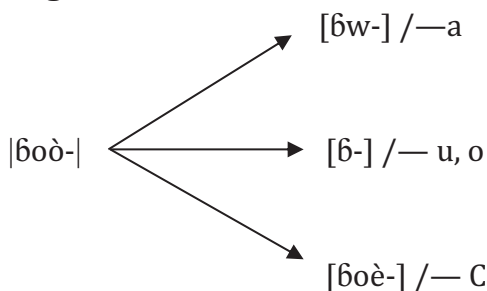
Exemple 3:

forme morphologique	réalisation phonétique	gloses
muè-aàn	[mwaân]	‘enfant’
muè-uètiè	[muètiè]	‘personne’
muè-oòtoôm	[moètoôm]	‘homme’
miè-miàaô	[mièmiaô]	‘femme’
miò-aôëiô	[miaûëiô]	‘épouse’

4 Le préfixe |boè-|

Ce préfixe est déjà très fréquent dans les langues bantu A (ewondo, basaa) ; il y marque le pluriel de |muè-|; en pòlrì il présente trois réalisations phonétiques dans les mêmes contextes que |muè-|. D’où la règle :

Règle:



Lecture : |boè-| se réalise [b̥w-] devant la voyelle /a/, [b̥-] devant les voyelles /u, o/ et [boè-] devant consonne.

Exemple 4:

forme morphologique	réalisation phonétique	Gloses
boè-aàn	[b̥waân]	‘enfants’

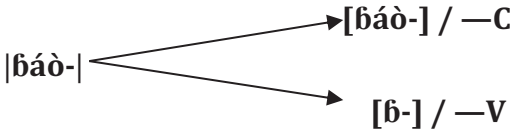
boè-uètiè	[buètiè]	'personnes'
boè-oòtoôm	[boètoôm]	'hommes'
boè-miàaô	[boòbaô]	'femmes'
boè-aôdiô	[baûdiô]	'épouses'

4. Le préfixe |báè-|.

Ce préfixe est le plus répandu, il marque le pluriel du préfixe ø-. Il présente deux réalisations contextuelles à savoir [báò-] devant les nominaux à initiale consonantique et

[b-] devant les nominaux à initiale vocalique. D'où la règle :

Règle :



Lecture : |ääè-| se réalise [ääè-] devant une consonne et [ä-] devant les voyelles.

Exemple 5:

Singulier	Pluriel	gloses
aòääàdiò	baòääàdiò	'sein(s)'
aèäiòndiò	baèäiòndiò	'testicule(s)'
aòpáôläóò	baòpáôläóò	'lumière(s)'
kiòñ	báèkiòñ	'cou(s)'
sóôkiô	ääòsóôkiô	'problème(s)'
máòtáòliô	ääòmáòtáòliô	'terre(s)'

1. Le préfixe de forme ø-

Cette forme de préfixe représente la marque du singulier de la quasi-totalité des nominaux de la langue, exception faite des mots pour : enfant, homme, femme, épouse, personne. Nous choisissons simplement de ne pas le marquer dans notre analyse, car il apparaîtrait devant tous les nominaux.

2. Les préfixes figés

Il s'agit des traces ou résidus de préfixes nominaux du proto-bantu. Dans les données actuelles de la langue, ces préfixes restent figés ou gelés au radical nominal. Ces résidus donnent l'hypothèse que les classes nominales ont certainement existé dans la langue à une époque de son histoire. Mais de nos jours lesdites classes ont disparu et les nominaux sont organisés dans un système qui manque de rigueur et la langue présente actuellement un système de classe très irrégulier. Le pólri compte quatre (4) préfixes nominaux figés.

La présence de ces préfixes figés cause une double préfixation systématique dans la langue, surtout dans le pluriel des substantifs. La disparition du préfixe référent ou préfixe d'accord en classe nominale est sans doute la cause du figement du préfixe de classe au radical nominal. Cela fait en sorte que le préfixe |*ɔ́áé-*| qui marque le pluriel vienne se doubler au préfixe originel du proto-bantu resté soudé au radical nominal.

1. La forme préfixale *v-*

2. Le préfixe |*ai-*|.

Ce préfixe |*ai-*|qui nous a permis de retracer la classe 5 du Proto-bantu dans la langue est en effet la marque de la classe 5 dans les langues du sous-groupe Beti-fang (A70) ; son pluriel y est |*méi-*|. Mais en pólri, ce préfixe reste figé au radical nominal de manière à former avec ce dernier le thème nominal. La conséquence est qu'au pluriel on assiste à une double préfixation. Car au pluriel, le morphème |*ɔ́áo-*| vient se doubler au préfixe figé |*ai-*|qui à l'origine était La marque du singulier.

Exemple 6:

Singulier	Pluriel	gloses
<i>ai-lóù</i> <i>ai</i> lòù]	<i>ääi-ai-lóù</i> <i>ääi</i> lòù]	'oreille(s)'
<i>ai-ääòdìè</i> <i>ai</i> ääòdìè]	<i>ääi-ai-ääòdìè</i> <i>baèääi</i> dìò]	'sein(s)'
<i>ai-dzái</i> <i>ai</i> d3ái]	<i>ääi-ai-d3áè</i> <i>ääi</i> d3ái]	'dent(s)'
<i>ai-weù</i> <i>ai</i> weù]	<i>ääi-ai-weù</i> <i>ääi</i> weù]	'don(s)'

aì-ëaĩṅ [aìëaĩṅ]	ääì-aì-ëaĩṅ [ääìëaĩṅ]	'puit(s)'
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La forme préfixale CV-

Nous avons inventorié trois (3) préfixes figés se présentant sous cette structure, il s'agit des préfixes : **miè-**, **mèè-** et **biè-**; nous commencerons l'analyse par le premier.

Le préfixe |miè-|.

Ce préfixe représente le vestige de la classe 4 du Proto-bantu ; le figement de ce préfixe résiduel cause une double préfixation au pluriel comme le montrent les exemples ci-dessous :

Exemple 7:

Singulier	Pluriel	gloses
miè-èà [mʲeâ]	ääì-miè-ε ù[äëè mʲeâ]	'poil(s)'
miè-eàncà [mʲeânçà]	ääì-miè-eàncà [ääè mʲeânçà]	'fou(s)'
miè-ààdcà [mʲáâdcà]	ääì-miè-ààdcà [bääè mʲáâdcà]	'larme(s)'
miè-siù [mʲiɕiù]	ääì-miè-si ù[ääì mʲiɕià]	'panari(s)'
miè- èàndcà [mʲeândçà]	ääì-miè- èàndcà [bääè mʲeândçà]	'caillou(x)'

3. Le préfixe |mái-|.

Pour retracer cette marque de préfixe substantival du Proto-bantu, nous avons eu recours aux évidences externes venant une fois de plus du groupe Beti-fang et du ääisaiaù où nous avons : *méi-ndiùm* "eau" (ewondo), *mai-leùp* "eau" (ääisaiaù). Dans ces deux langues, les préfixes, |méi-| et |mai-| marquent le pluriel de la classe 5. L'évidence avec le pólrì viendrait du fait que, même dans ces deux langues le processus du gel du préfixe semble en cours, car ni dans l'une, ni dans l'autre langue, le substantif en question n'a de correspondant au singulier.

Pourtant dans ces deux langues externes, nous avons au singulier *dii-iùs* "oeil" dont le pluriel est *méi-iùs* "yeux" (ewondo) et *mai-iùs* "yeux" (ääisaiaù). En nous fondant sur cette évidence, nous regrouperons tous les substantifs du pólrì présentant le préfixe |mái-|, dans les résidus de la classe 6 du Proto-bantu. Ce préfixe historique a deux réalisations à savoir

[mái-] devant les radicaux à initial consonantique et [m-] devant les radicaux à initial vocalique.

Exemple 8:

Singulier	pluriel	Gloses
máè-tʃeù [məètʃeù]	báè-máè-tʃe à [báèməètʃeù]	‘oeuf(s)’
máè-iàsaà [miàsaà]	báè-máè-iàsaà [báèmiàsaà]	‘urine(s)’
mái-kiì-iù [məèkiâ]	báè-máè-kiè-ià [báèməèkiâ]	‘sang(s)’
máè-táèl-i ù [məètáèlià]	báè-máè-táèl-i à [báèməètáèlià]	‘terre(s)’
máè-iàs-iì [miàsì]	báè-máè-iàs-iì [báèmiàsì]	‘yeux’
máè-táàd-ià [məètáàdià]	báè-máè-táàdià [báèməètáàdià]	‘salive(s)’
máè-đuàbó ù [məèđuàbóà]	báè-máè-đuàbó à [báèməèđuàbóà]	‘eau’

4. Le préfixe|äiì-|

La forme de ce préfixe ne varie pas ; il reste soudé au radical nominal pour en former le thème. Généralement dans les langues bantu, ce préfixe appartient au groupe pluriel. Mais en pólri, le fait que le préfixe **äiì-** reste figé au radical marque plutôt le singulier et crée une double préfixation du morphème |báò-| au pluriel.

Exemple 9:

Singulier	pluriel	Gloses
äiì-ka ù [äiìkaà]	ääi-äiè-kaù [báèäiìkaà]	‘herbe(s)’
äiì-dʒaè-aà [äiìdʒaâ]	ääi-äiè-dʒaè-aà [báèäiìdʒaâ]	‘mensonge(s)’
äiì-taùk-iì [äiìtaùkiì]	ääi-äiè-taùk-iè [báèäiìtaùkiè]	‘souci(s)’
äiì-saiñg [äiìsaiñ]	ääi-äiè-saiñg [báèäiìsaiñ]	‘chose(s)’
äiì-ɔàñg [äiìɔàñ]	ääi-äiè-ɔàñg [báèäiìɔàñ]	‘cerveau(x)’

D. Vestiges de classe nominale et du genre en pólri

Les huit (8) préfixes que nous avons identifiés plus haut, témoignent de la présence des vestiges de classes nominales

dans la langue, ces derniers engendrent deux genres grammaticaux innovants qui sont:

1. -|muò-| / |boò-| (humain)
2. -|ø-| / |báo-| (non humain)

Ces préfixes peuvent être considérés comme des traces de classes nominales du pólri. Elles distinguent les genres *humain* / *non humain* d'une part et marquent le nombre (singulier / pluriel) d'autre part. Or ce système de classes est très irrégulier, car les langues bantu étudiées jusqu'ici comptent au moins dix (10) classes nominales, avec un système rigoureux d'accord (Guthrie 1948, Meeussen 1967). Nous appellerons ces morphèmes, des préfixes de classe par défaut; leur appariement marque également le genre *humain* / *non humain* par défaut. Cela est dû au fait que certains préfixes originels que nous appelons résidus ou vestiges du Proto-bantu et que l'on note encore chez certains nominaux en polri, s'y sont soudés ou figés récemment dans la langue. Ils sont ce que nous appelons **préfixes gelés** ou "*frozen prefix*".

Nous ne pouvons donc parler que de vestiges des classes du Proto-bantu, dans la mesure où la plupart des préfixes ont disparu à travers le temps. Cela est certainement dû au contact avec les langues voisines sans classes nominales, telles que le gbaya et le baka. Ces vestiges de classes sont entre autres |*muè-*| et |*äoè-*| que l'on retrouve encore devant un nombre très limité de substantifs de la classe sémantique [+humain], à l'exemple *demuètiò/buètiè*, *moètoôm/boètoôm* etc. Mais peut-on ici parler de classes nominales? Certainement pas, car les préfixes en présence n'engendrent pas des schèmes d'accords en classe. Il s'agit donc des vestiges ou résidus des classes 1, 2, 4, 5, 6 et 8 du Proto-bantu.

3. Analyse des radicaux nominaux du pólri

Dans cette section, notre tâche sera l'analyse des structures syllabiques et tonales du radical des nominaux en pólri. La forme et la structure des préfixes ont déjà fait l'objet d'une

analyse. Nous proposons ici d'analyser la structure des radicaux des nominaux de notre corpus.

A. Structure morphologique des radicaux nominaux

Nous allons ici analyser les différentes structures syllabiques des radicaux nominaux de la langue ; notre principal but dans cette analyse est de comprendre le processus de double préfixation évoqué plus haut, afin d'apprécier le degré de proximité ou d'éloignement de langue par rapport aux langues bantu A. En pòlri les radicaux des nominaux indépendants sont en grande majorité, de structure monosyllabique toutefois nous avons identifié quelques structures dissyllabiques.

B. Structure monosyllabique

La structure monosyllabique peut revêtir l'une des formes suivantes : VC, CV, CVC. Notre analyse phonologique présentait des structures syllabiques avec des consonnes modifiées (palatalisées ou labialisées) ; il importe de préciser que ces dernières n'ont pas un fonctionnement morphologique différent des consonnes C dans les nominaux, aussi les radicaux à consonnes modifiées exigent-ils les mêmes suffixes non grammaticaux que ceux des consonnes C.

3. La structure|–VC–|

Nous avons identifié certains radicaux de structure –VC à partir du rapprochement de la forme du singulier et de celle du pluriel. Ici nous notons la présence de deux préfixes **muè-** pour la forme singulière et **boè-** pour la forme du pluriel. Cela nous fait dire que la langue possède encore des traces de préfixe de classe nominale.

Exemple 10:

Singulier	Pluriel	gloses
muè-aàn [mwaân]	boè-aàn [ɓwaân]	'enfant(s)'
mèè-iùs-iì [miùsiì]	bàè-mèè-iùs-iì [bàèmiùsiì]	'yeux'
mèè-iùs-ai [miùsai]	bàè-mèè-iùs-ai [bàèmiùsai]	'urine(s)'
biè-ɔàng [ɓɔâng]	bái-biè-ɔàng [bàèɓɔâng]	'cerveau(x)'

Nous observons que les radicaux de structure -VC- admettent en plus du préfixe variable *mui-* le préfixe figé *mâi-* qui cause une double préfixation au pluriel.

4. La structure | -CV- |

Les thèmes qui présentent les radicaux de structure -CV- sont de deux types à savoir ceux qui ne portent plus de préfixes et dont la forme plurielle s'obtient en ajoutant le morphème |**ḡáè-**| à la forme du singulier et ceux qui portent encore le préfixe figé et dont la forme du pluriel s'obtient par double préfixation. Puis qu'il serait encombrant de placer le préfixe *ø-* devant tous les radicaux de type -CV- ayant perdu leur préfixe, nous choisissons de ne pas le placer.

Exemple 11:

Singulier	Pluriel	Gloses
loà [loà]	ḡáè-lo à [ḡáèloà]	'tête(s)'
poà [poà]	ḡáè-poà [ḡáèpoà]	'souris'
dʒóè-óà [dʒóâ]	ḡáè- dʒóè-óà [ḡáèdʒóâ]	'champignon(s)'
ḡoè [ḡoè]	ḡáè-ḡoè [ḡáèḡoè]	'cuisse(s)'
mâi-koè- oà [méèkoâ]	ḡáè-mâè-koè- oà [ḡáèméèkoâ]	'pied(s)'
aì-lóà [aèlóa]	ḡáè-aìlóa [ḡaèlóa]	'oreille(s)'
mâi-suè- ià [méèswiâ]	ḡáè-mâi-suè- ià [ḡáèméèswiâ]	'cendre(s)'
mâi-tʃeà [méètʃeà]	ḡáè-mâitʃe à [ḡáèméètʃeà]	'œuf(s)'
mâi-kiè- ià [méèkiâ]	ḡáè-mâikiâ [ḡáèméèkiâ]	'sang(s)'
aì-dʒáè [méèswiâ]	ḡáè-aèdʒáè [ḡaèdʒáè]	'dent(s)'

4. La structure | -CVC- |

Certains radicaux de cette structure ont perdu leur préfixe de classe, alors que d'autres conservent toujours leur préfixe qui est resté figé au radical créant ainsi une double préfixation

au pluriel. Cette structure s'identifie à partir des cas illustratifs suivants :

Exemple 12:

Singulier	Pluriel	gloses
ɖaàŋg [ɖaàñ]	ɓáè-ɖaàŋg [ɓáèɖaàñ]	'moquerie(s)'
kiũŋg [kiũñ]	ɓáè-kiàŋg [ɓáèkiàñ]	'cou(s)'
nóèóàñ [nóân]	ɓáè-nóèóàñ [ɓáènoóân]	'oiseau(x)'
tʃáèŋg [tʃáèñ]	ɓáè-tʃáèŋg [ɓáètʃáèñ]	'couteau(x)'
ɲaèn [ɲaèn]	ɓáè-ɲaèn [ɓáèɲaèn]	'courage(s)'
máè- láàŋg [méèláàñ]	ɓáè-máèláàŋg [ɓáèméèláàñ]	'conseil(s)'
äiì-saiŋg [äiìsaiñ]	ääi-äiìsaiŋg [ääiäiìsaiñ]	'chose(s)'

C Structure dissyllabiques

Les nominaux ayant un radical dissyllabique sont très peu nombreux et présentent trois (3) formes à savoir : CV.CV ; CVC.CV ; CV.CVC.

5. La structure |-CV.CV-|

Elle s'identifie dans le corpus suivant :

Exemple 13:

Singulier	Pluriel	gloses
koèsiè [koèsiè]	ɓáè-koèsiè [ɓáèkoèsièè]	'perroquet(s)'
suèmbiàà [suèmbià]	ɓáè- suèmbiàà [ɓáèsuèmbià]	'bâton(s)'
kɔèsià [kɔèsià]	ɓáè- kɔèsià [ɓáèkɔèsià]	'toux'

6. La structure |-CVC.CV-|

Elle est illustrée à travers le corpus ci-après :

Exemple 14:

Singulier	pluriel	gloses
póètkaì-laè	ɓáè-póètkaèlaè	'boue'

7. La structure | -CV.CVC- |

Elle est illustrée à travers le corpus ci-après :

Exemple 15:

Singulier	pluriel	gloses
kóèñgóãñ	báè-kóèñgóãñ	'pitié'
Foiroìm	báè-foi roìm	'chapeau(x)'

D. Structure des radicaux redupliqués

Certains radicaux nominaux sont partiellement redupliqués. Cela empêche leur classification dans l'une ou l'autre des structures des radicaux analysées plus haut. Ces nominaux ont certainement déjà perdu leur préfixe nominal comme l'illustrent les exemples suivants :

Exemple 16:

Préfixe	Radical	nominal	gloses
∅-	-lóiñ-	loìlóiñ	'sifflet'
∅-	-twóû-	tuìtwóû	'rien'
∅-	-kóùñ-	kóìkóùñ-liù	'gorge'
∅-	-ëuìk-	ëuìëuìk-äiì	'abri'
∅-	-foi-	foìfoiì-iì	'poumon'
∅-	-swaûñ-	suswaûñói	'étoile'
∅-	-koù-	koùkoù	'soir'

Conclusion partielle 1

Dans les radicaux redupliqués, comme le montre le corpus ci-dessus, nous avons les radicaux de structure -CV- et -CVC-. La structure -CVC- avec cinq (5) occurrences sur huit (8) est la plus récurrente, soit 62,5% contre 37,5% pour la structure CV. Dans les radicaux redupliqués de structure CVC, en C1 les consonnes retrouvées sont les alvéolaires et les vélaires et idem pour les consonnes apparaissant en C2. Pour les radicaux redupliqués de structure -CV-, nous avons en C, les consonnes alvéolaires et vélaires ; dans la position V nous retrouvons uniquement les voyelles postérieures. Ci-dessous nous

présentons un tableau qui récapitule ces différentes structures syllabiques.

Types syllabiques	Schémes syllabiques	Exemples
Thèmes monosyllabiques	-VC- -CV- -CVC-	muè-aàn "enfant" aì-loè "tête" daàñ "moquerie"
Thèmes disyllabiques	-CV.CV- -CVC.CV- -CV.CVC-	k ^w aàmoà "poche" pòètkàì-laè foèroèm "chapeau"

Tableau 23.2: Tableau récapitulatif des structures syllabiques des radicaux des substantifs

Analyse des suffixes

Dans cette section, notre tâche sera l’analyse des suffixes, car ces derniers font également partie du nominal du pòlri. Les nominaux indépendants de la langue présentent essentiellement les suffixes non grammaticaux dont nous analyserons la structure.

A. Analyse morphologique des suffixes non grammaticaux

On appelle suffixe non grammatical en langue bantu, un affixe nominal qui ne porte aucune signification autonome. Il se joint à un radical nominal pour donner lieu à un thème nominal. Guthrie (1967 :12) aligne le suffixe non grammatical dans les critères subsidiaires de l’identification des langues bantu ; il écrit : *"when a non-grammatical, or lexical, suffix is attached to the radical there is formed a stem on which words identifiable as nominals are built."*

Le suffixe non grammatical en polri est essentiellement monosyllabique. Nous avons recensé deux types de suffixes non grammaticaux de structure -V et -CV.

Le suffixe non grammatical de structure -V

Le suffixe de structure -V, qu’il soit grammatical ou non grammatical est traité par certains bantuistes comme étant la

voyelle finale. Mais en pólri on ne saurait parler de voyelle finale ; car elle n'est pas systématique dans la langue. Ce suffixe -V est très souvent représentée dans la langue par la voyelle -i ; son ton est l'opposé du ton du radical. Dans l'autre variante de la langue (aèsoâm), cette voyelle suffixale est déjà tombée.

Exemple 17:

Préfixe figé	radical	SnG	Nominal		Gloses
			polriKinda	polriAsom	
aè-	-äüuk-	-iì	aìäüükì	Aìäüük	la joue
mái-	-iüs-	-iì	miàsì	Miàs	oeil
ø-	-ëaüs-	-iì	ëaüsì	Ëaüs	menton
ø-	-sàië-	-iù	sàiëiù	Sail	la barbe
mái-	-tài	-iù	màitài	màitài	la terre
ø-	-ëóïä-	-iù	ëóïäiù	Ëóïw	le nombril
mái-	-kiì-	-iù	màikiù	Màikiù	le sang

Conclusion partielle 2

Les données actuelles de la langue nous permettent de confirmer que le processus de grammaticalisation c'est-à-dire la perte des syllabes, notamment des préfixes et des suffixes, est plus avancée dans l'autre variante (asom) de la langue.

1. Le suffixe non grammatical de structure -CV

Le suffixe non grammatical de type -CV en pólri cause un grand problème ; les mots qui portent ces suffixes présentent la silhouette syllabique CVC.CV. Or la séquence CC dans la même syllabe ou en frontière syllabique est très rare – voire inexistant- dans les langues bantu. Nous postulons que les suffixes -CV dans la langue, qu'ils soient grammaticaux ou non sont en réalité des résidus de suffixes dérivatifs historiques (figés) de structure -VCV. Dans les données synchroniques de la langue, V1 serait récemment tombé et -CV est resté figé au radical. Les suffixes de type -CV sont donc aujourd'hui des suffixes figés. Il devait s'agir jadis d'un suffixe extensif. Dans la langue, six suffixes se présentent dans la structure -CV à savoir -lái-, -liù-, -lài-, -kói-, -kiìet-, -kaì.

Exemple 18:

Préfixe figé	radical	SnG	nominal		Gloses
			singulier	pluriel	
∅ -	-jáìk-	-láì	jáìklàì	ääìjáìklàì	maître
∅ -	-lóìm-	-liì	lóìmlìì	ääìlóìmlìì	travail
∅-	-džiìt -	-kóì	džiìtkóì	ääìdžiìtkóì	fumée
∅-	-džiìt -	-kiì	džiìtkàì	ääìdžiìtkàì	obscurité
∅-	-seùj -	-kàì	seùjkàì	ääìpóìtka	outil
∅ -	-dzoìj-	-kàì	dzoìj	ääìdzoìj	ordre
∅-	-saìñ-	-laì	saìñlaì	ääìsaìñlaì	Pain
∅-	-ääik-	-laì	ääìklaì	ääìääìklaì	hyène

5. Conclusion

L'analyse des structures syllabiques et tonales des thèmes des nominaux du pólrì nous permet de noter l'absence des préfixes et des classes nominales. A défaut de dire que les nominaux indépendants ne portent pas de préfixes au singulier, il serait plutôt juste de dire qu'ils portent le préfixe de forme ∅- ou alors quatre autres préfixes (figés) de structure V- ou CV- (*aì-, miè-, máì-, et äiì-*) des vestiges des préfixes de classes du Proto-bantu qui se sont gelés qui ne s'effacent plus lorsque s'ajoute le préfixe |*ḃáè-*| qui est la marque du pluriel. On assiste alors à une double préfixation au pluriel, cela est un phénomène nouveau dans une langue bantu. Cependant les structures syllabiques et tonales sont très proches des structures des langues bantu. Un autre thème de recherche sur lequel débouche notre conclusion, et qui nous interpelle ou alors d'autres chercheurs, et qui pourra certainement compléter notre travail est justement l'étude du processus de grammaticalisation en polri.

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Grammaire du *bábot*: temps, aspect, mode

*Beban Sammy Chumbow et Yaphete Madjirade,
Université de Yaoundé I- Cameroon*

1. Introduction

Cet article qui porte sur un aspect du *bábot*, une langue nilo-saharienne parlée au Tchad, est essentiellement mené sous un angle purement descriptif bien que l'on puisse retrouver de temps en temps quelques aspects théoriques pour des raisons explicatives. Il est axé sur trois catégories grammaticales à savoir le Temps, l'Aspect et le Mode. Ducrot (1972). Ces trois catégories sont liées au déroulement de l'action et assignent chacune une interprétation particulière à la description de toute forme verbale dans la langue. Il est démontré que le *bábot* distingue un temps présent, un temps passé et un temps futur.

D'une manière générale, le verbe en *bábot*, conjugué à sa forme simple, exprime le temps passé. Mais pour des raisons de précision, l'on doit employer les expressions adverbiales pour indiquer le temps de référence. Ce sont ces trois éléments de la syntaxe qui feront l'objet de notre analyse. Nous allons décrire et analyser la structure de la phrase selon le modèle de la Théorie Standard de Chomsky (1965). Ce modèle permet de ressortir les différents constituants de la phrase sous sa forme plate, c'est à dire la structure selon laquelle les constituants immédiats de la phrase que sont le syntagme nominal (SN) et le syntagme verbal (SV) occupent le même niveau de représentation.

A lumière de la Théorie Standard, les constituants de la phrase en *bábot* peuvent être représentés de façon arborielle (sous forme d'arbre ou de diagramme). Suivant ce modèle, l'on

peut prédire, à partir des règles dites de réécriture, la structure de la phrase.

Pour rendre compte des variations des formes verbales, la grammaire traditionnelle a proposé une répartition des formes verbales en modes, lesquelles modes sont subdivisés en temps. Ces subdivisions sont les reflets directs de certaines distinctions sémantiques. C'est ainsi que (Roberts 1999 :10) dit : 'les nuances qui se rapportent au déroulement d'une action sont classées conceptuellement en trois catégories : celles de temps, aspect et mode'. Dans le même souci, Tamanji (2009: 91) affirme 'following the TAM are tense, aspect and mood (TAM).'

Ces trois notions sont à mesure de donner des marques qui conviennent à la description de chacune des formes verbales d'une langue donnée : pour le mode, la façon dont l'énonciateur prend en charge l'énonciation, et pour le temps, la relation entre le moment de l'énonciation et le moment où est situé l'événement que représente l'énoncé. 'Une forme verbale donnée peut désigner directement une catégorie simple de temps, d'aspect ou de mode, ou elle peut correspondre à la combinaison d'un temps avec un aspect, d'un temps avec un mode etc.' (Roberts 1999).

En réalité les choses sont très complexes au point que la question de la nature exacte de distinction décrite parlant de temps et mode reste controversée, même dans le cadre des langues les plus étudiées. Il serait donc nécessaire pour nous de saisir ce trio comme 'tiroirs' verbaux et parler globalement de temps – aspect – mode (en abrégé TAM) plutôt que de procéder à la distinction de trois types différents de significations.

En *bébot*, le temps – mode et aspect sont intimement liés. Alors pour analyser cette langue à travers ces concepts, nous allons tenter de définir chacun de ces termes selon les points de vue de plusieurs chercheurs. Ces vocables sont classés dans les catégories de la conjugaison ; 'les catégories de la conjugaison sont au nombre de cinq : l'ordre, l'aspect, le temps, le mode et le degré.' (Essono 2000: 473).

2. Ordre

On appelle ordre un mode, ou type de communication institué par le sujet parlant (Dubois et al. 2007: 337). 'La catégorie de l'ordre situe le procès soit dans l'existence, soit dans la non-existence sur l'axe syntagmatique. Les formes verbales se caractérisent donc par deux catégories d'ordre : l'affirmatif et le négatif' Essono' (2000).

- (1) a. mbororo oèrèè mbaè maèñgí
éleveur traire mamelle bovin
"L'éleveur a tiré le lait de la vache"
- b. ɲjeà ndó oèrèè mbaè
propriétaire champ traire mamelle

maèñgí aâl
bovin négation
"Le cultivateur n'a pas tiré le lait de la vache"
- (2) a. béaléeɲjeà díàñgéèm-jeà sóâj kéè²ɲjeà
village-de-nous homme-pluriel manger poule
"Chez nous les hommes mangent le poulet"
- b. béaléeɲjeà déà²ne²-je sóâj kéè²ɲjeà
village-de-nous femme-pluriel manger nég.
"Chez nous les femmes ne mangent pas de poulets"

A la lumière des exemples ci-haut cités, l'ordre affirmatif en (a) est morphologiquement non marqué par contre l'ordre négatif en (b) est caractérisé par le morphème négateur [aâl]. Il est donc marqué. Le marqueur de la négation [aâl] se place toujours à la fin de la phrase pour marquer l'ordre négatif.

3. Temps

‘Le temps est une dimension qui est présente dans toutes les langues naturelles même si elle n’est pas structurellement visible’ (Dubois et al. 1973) cité par (Abdoulaye 2005:87). C’est dans cette perspective que Roberts (1999: 10) souligne ‘le temps concerne l’ordre séquentiel de l’action, le moment de parler servant normalement comme le point de référence par rapport auquel on situe l’action (avant, après, ou simultanément) dans le temps.’ Cette situation peut être traduite par : passé, présent et future.

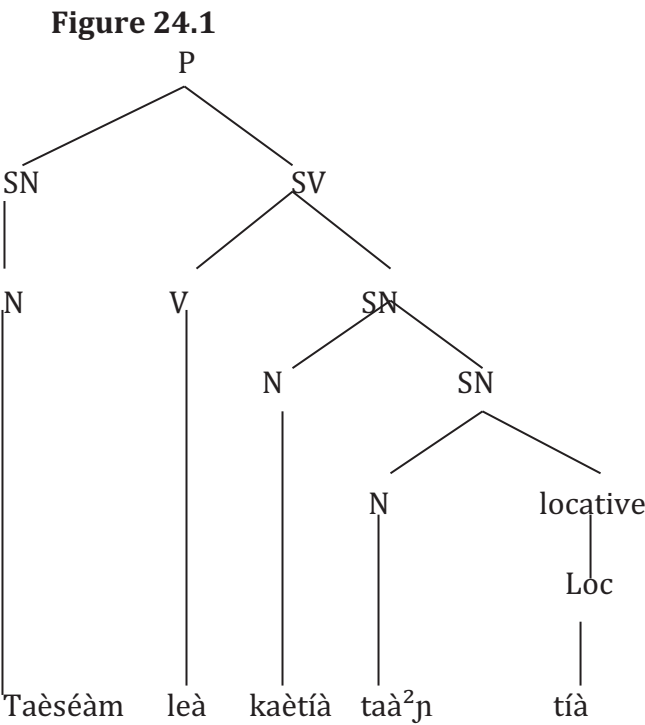
A. Passe

Le passé veut dire avant le point de référence. Il situe l’énoncé dans un moment avant l’instant présent. Il n’y a pas des affixes particuliers qui expriment la notion du passé sauf les adverbes de temps. Le verbe du *bébót* conjugué dans sa forme simple exprime le passé. Pour des raisons de précision, on emploie les adverbes tels que : ce matin, aujourd’hui, ce soir, hier, le mois dernier, l’année passée, autrefois etc. Quand le verbe est accompagné par un auxiliaire ou autre marqueur, c’est pour situer l’action soit dans le présent soit dans le futur.

Dans cet exemple, rien n’a marqué le passé lexicalement. Mais on peut traduire la phrase en français par « Tassem a mis du sel dans la sauce ». Devant cette phrase, tout locuteur *bébót*, dira que l’action de mettre du sel dans la sauce est déjà accomplie. Mais on ne sait de quel passé (immédiat ou lointain) ? Dans la langue, quand il s’agit d’un passé lointain, ou précis on exprime, par le nombre d’année, de mois, ou alors, on dit autrefois. C’est pourquoi, nous avons opté traduire nos phrases par le passé composé. Le passé composé, faut-il le rappeler, est un passé indéfini. A un ensemble de formes verbales constituées de l’auxiliaire avoir (ou être) et d’un participe passé traduisant l’aspect accompli, (Dubois et al. 2007 :351). Le passé composé situe donc l’énoncé par rapport

au sujet parlant; le procès est achevé au moment de l'énonciation, le passé correspondant au perfectif. Nous y reviendrons.

- (3) taèsèàm leà kaètíà taà²ɲ tíà
patro.fem mettre sel sauce locatif
'Tassem a mis du sel dans la sauce'



- (4) kaka ndíàr muànduèru
grand-mère préparer légume
'La grand-mère a préparé la sauce moundourou'

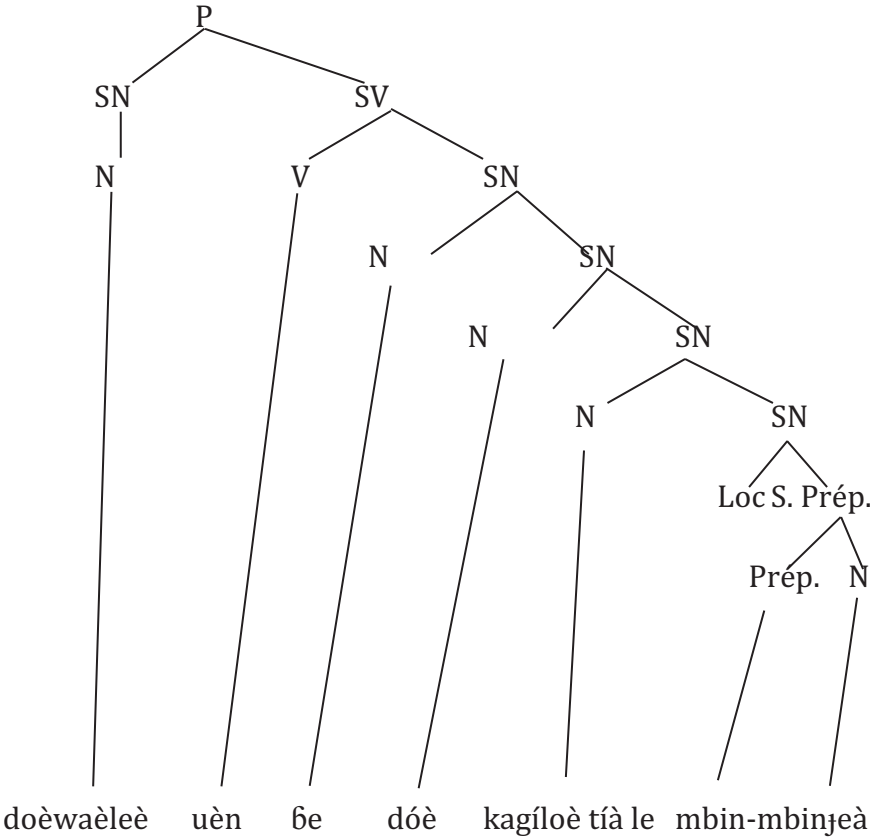
Ici l'action de préparer est déjà achevée. Cette même phrase peut être employée dans un passé précis ou défini.

- (5) a. taègià²ne² kaka ndiàr muànduèru
 hier grand-mère préparer légume
 "La grand-mère prépara la sauce de moundourou hier"
- b. kaàlíneè² kaka ndiàr muànduèru
 année-passé grand-mère préparer légume
 "L'année passée, la grand-mère prépara la sauce
 de moundourou"

Toutefois, on peut donner le nom de passé historique ou lointain pour traduire la catégorie de l'aspect (procès accompli) et celle du temps (procès révolu par rapport à un passé historique). En *ḡébót*, on a des adverbes qui traduisent ces actions dans le temps historique.

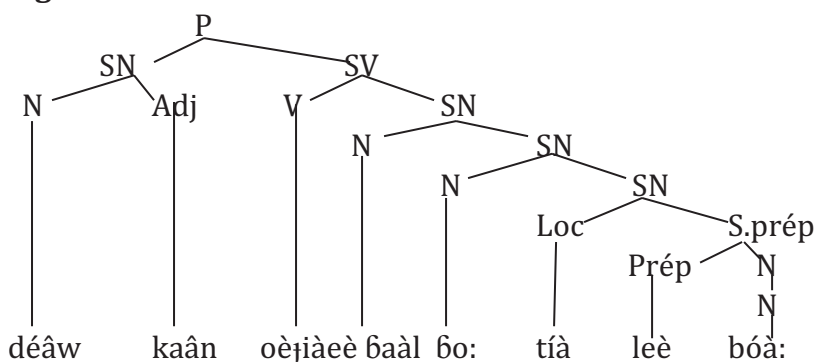
- (6) doèwaèlèè uèn 6e dóè kagíloè tíà
 patro.masc. prendre village tête bois temps
- le mbin-mbinjeàⁱ
 locatif esclavagistes
 "Dowalet prit le pouvoir pendant l'arrivée
 des esclavagistes camerounais"

Figure 24.2



- (7) déâw kaân oèjiaèè ɓaàl ɓo:tíà leè bóà:
homme ci être-né année famine locatif.de margouillat
‘Cet homme-ci naquit pendant la famille de margouillat’
‘Cet homme-ci naquit il y a fort longtemps’

Figure 24.3

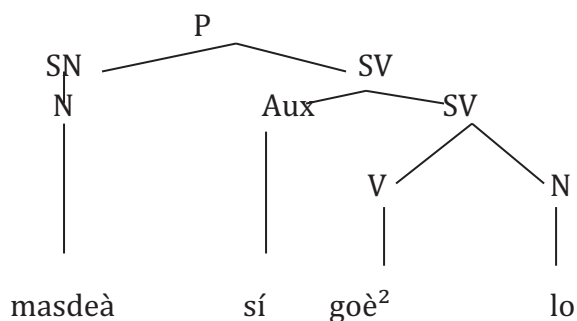


A. Present

On appelle présent un temps situant l'énoncé dans l'instant de la production du discours, dans le « maintenant » le point zéro à partir duquel se définit la durée (Dubois et al. 2007 :378). En *6ébót*, le présent s'exprime par la préfixation du morphème [sɪ] ou par des adverbes. Cet affixe [sɪ] servait ailleurs comme un verbe « être assis ». Mais ici, il sert comme auxiliaire pour conjuguer les verbes au présent. Le présent est construit comme des formes progressives.

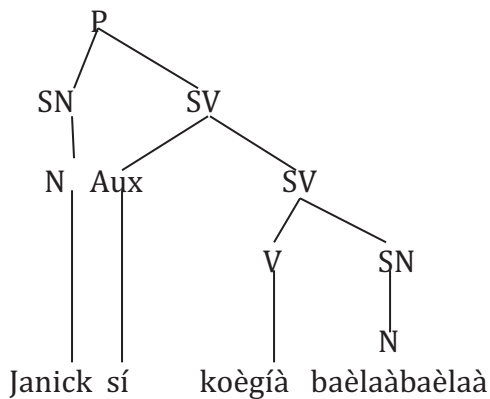
- (8) a. masdeà sí goè² lo
 patro.masc aux regarder espace
 'Masdé est en train de regarder'

Figure 24.4



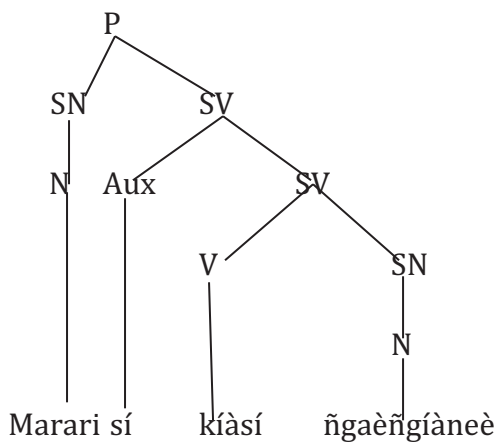
- b. janick sí koègíà baèlaàbaèlaà
 Yanick aux rire adverbe
 'Yanick est en train de rire aux éclats'

Figure 24.5



- c. marari sí kíàsí ñgaèñgíàneè
 patro.fem aux brosser dents.lui
 'Marari est en train de se brosser les dents'

Figure 24.6



- d. mí sí míàde masíra réàwe
 je aux mettre patro.masc route
 'Je suis en train de mettre masíra en route'

‘Je suis en train d’accompagner masra’

- e. ñgaro sí tóàl kul kosí
patro.masc aux sculter manche houe
‘Ngaro est en train de sculter la manche d’une houe’

Nous avons dit que le présent du *bébót* est construit comme des formes progressives en Français ou en Anglais avec l’usage de ‘est en train de. Cette forme de construction traduit le présent simple. Quant au présent progressif, on adjoint le suffixe adverbial pour marquer le progressif.

- (9) a. béàléèmbaâj sí ndoneà² jaèuàndeè ratata
patro.masc aux étudier Yaoundé jusqu’à
‘Belembaye est en train d’étudier à Yaoundé jusqu’à’

- b. banojí sí toà dul ratata loèti
patro.masc aux dépouiller biche jusqu’au matin
‘Banodji est en train de dépouiller la biche-cochon jusqu’au matin’

En *bébót*, le temps présent correspond à l’aspect imperfectif (nous y reviendrons). Pour marquer le présent, on utilise l’auxiliaire [sí] plus le verbe à conjuguer. Cela spécifie la continuité de l’action décrite dans le procès. On peut représenter cela dans la règle suivante :

Règle 1 : Prés = Aux + V

A. Futur

Le futur situe l’action après le point de référence. Dans cette langue, le temps futur est marqué par l’usage de l’auxiliaire [aè]. Ce morphème est utilisé ailleurs soit comme un verbe soit comme une particule. Mais ici, il joue le rôle de l’auxiliaire permettant de conjuguer les verbes au futur. A cela, s’ajoute d’autres morphèmes adverbiaux pour caractériser le futur immédiat, futur proche ou futur lointain. Ces adverbes sont

multiples et variés. On peut formuler comme règle de construction du futur, l'ordre suivant :

Règle 2 :

Futur = Aux + V
Ou
Aux + V + Adv.

Au point de vue formelle, on se rend compte que le présent et le futur sont régis par une même règle. Les deux temps correspondent à l'aspect imperfectif. Cependant, la différence réside dans l'un ou l'autre de temps. Le présent correspond à l'auxiliaire [sɪ] alors que le futur va avec l'auxiliaire [aè]. Les exemples suivants illustrent le temps futur, futur immédiat, proche et futur lointain.

- (10) a. ndi aè éèdí
 pluie Aux pleuvoir
 "Il va pleuvoir"
- b. ndi aè éèdí kí lóèj-lóèj tíà neè²
 pluie Aux pleuvoir jonctif adv.pateuse locatif ici
 "Il va pleuvoir dans l'immédiat (tout de suite)"
- c. ndi aè éèdí ñgóèsíà neè
 pluie Aux pleuvoir proche ici
 "Il va pleuvoir bientôt"
- d. ndi aè éèdí kaèlaèñgí aâl
 pluie Aux pleuvoir vite négation
 "Il ne va pas pleuvoir vite (tôt)"

L'exemple (10) exprime globalement le futur mais les quatre points spécifient au moins un aspect du futur. C'est ainsi qu'en (a), on sait qu'il va pleuvoir, mais quand ? Rien n'est

déterminé. Par contre en (b), la pluie est annoncée pour l'immédiat. De même, en (c), la pluie est annoncée pour bientôt. Et enfin, en (d), la pluie n'est pas à l'ordre du jour maintenant donc il va pleuvoir plus tard.

Autre façon d'exprimer le futur lointain consiste à placer l'adverbe de temps à l'initiale de l'énoncé.

(11) a. bíàtí taà: jaèmbaèw aè reà
 plus tard d'abord Jésus aux venir
 "C'est plus tard que Jésus viendra"

b. béàj taà: jaèmbaèw aè reà
 encore d'abord Jésus aux venir
 "Un peu tard que Jésus viendra"

c. jaèmbaèw aè reà ñgòèsíà ne²è
 Jésus Aux venir maintenant ici
 "Jésus vient bientôt"

De toutes les façons, la construction du futur dans la langue *lébót* s'accompagne toujours avec l'auxiliaire [aè], qui précède le verbe conjugué. Ainsi, de trois temps qui sont le passé, le présent et le futur, seuls le présent et le futur sont marqués lexicalement. Le passé composé n'est pas marqué. Cependant le passé simple est marqué par les adverbes de temps et bien d'autres morphèmes liés au temps.

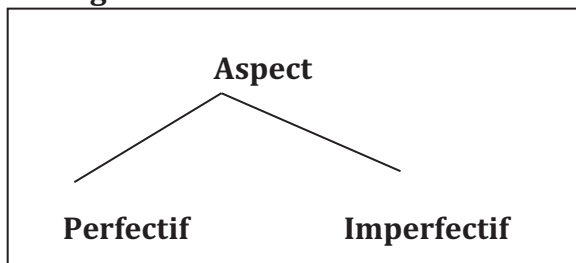
4. Aspect

'L'aspect est une catégorie grammaticale qui exprime la représentation que se fait le sujet parlant du procès exprimé par le verbe (ou par le mode), c'est-à-dire la représentation de sa durée, de son déroulement ou de son achèvement...' Dubois (1973 :53) cité par Abdoulaye (2005 :86). L'aspect est donc la manière selon laquelle une action est reçue par un locuteur. Il détermine l'angle sous lequel le locuteur voit le procès dans son

déroulement. C'est dans cette perspective qu'Essono (2000: 474) souligne 'l'aspect manifeste le point de vue sous lequel le locuteur envisage le développement du procès.'

L'action exprimée par le verbe peut être envisagée soit dans son achèvement, son résultat (aspect accompli), soit dans sa durée, sa phase de réalisation (aspect inaccompli ou imperfectif). Selon Essono (2000), l'aspect s'articule donc en deux catégories distinctes : le ponctuel et le continuatif (duratif). Lesquelles catégories Roberts (1999 :10) appelle perfectif et imperfectif.

Figure 24.7



A. Perfectif (accompli)

Le perfectif analyse l'action comme une unité simple, un ensemble, faite une fois pour toute, sans tenir compte des étapes éventuelles dans le déroulement. Ici l'analyse ne tient pas compte de considération de la durée.

- (12) a. déà²ne² oèjí ñgo²n
 femme accoucher enfant
 "La femme a accouché"
- b. Tomípi sóè gaèjíè
 patro.fem manger arachide
 "TOMPI a mangé l'arachide"

Dans l'exemple (12), les deux actions sont totalement achevées. Ce sont donc les actions accomplies d'où l'aspect accompli.

A. Imperfectif (inaccompli)

L'imperfectif ou aspect inaccompli exprime le procès en cours de réalisation. L'action est appréhendée comme un événement complexe à l'égard duquel, on peut se concentrer sur un aspect particulier de sa composition interne. Il fait ressortir le déroulement de l'action exprimé par le verbe sans tenir compte ni de son début, ni de sa fin. On peut se trouver au milieu, au début ou à la fin de l'action. Dans la langue *ḍébót*, on peut trouver dans la catégorie d'aspect imperfectif plusieurs nuances qui sont entre autres le progressif, l'habituel, le duratif etc.

B. Progressif

Le progressif situe l'action du procès du point de vue de sa structure comme ayant un début, un milieu et une fin. Il est caractérisé par le morphème [*sí*] qui veut dire « en train de ». Nous avons considéré ce morphème comme l'auxiliaire aspectuel pour conjuguer le verbe au temps présent. Le progressif imperfectif marque un procès qui est en cours au moment de l'énonciation. Il sert à exprimer l'aspect inaccompli d'une action. Cette dernière est vue dans son déroulement.

- (13) a. *déàw* *sí* *ndaè²ñgí* *neà²*
 homme Aux écrire chose
 mbéèteà tíà
 papier locatif
 "L'homme est en train d'écrire dans le papier"
 "L'homme est en train d'écrire"

- b. *kéâj* *sí* *téètíà*
 maison Aux s'écrouler
 "La maison est en train de s'écrouler"

- c. *ndi* *sí* *éèdí* *taègaè*
 pluie Aux pleuvoir dehors
 "Il est en train de pleuvoir dehors"

- d. mode sí buàjí tó²neè²
 patro.masc Aux effacer nom.son

lièkoàl tíà

école locatif

"Modé est en train d'effacer son nom à l'école"

- e. loèkí raà sí àùèw tí wa
 lieu où Aux aller locatif interrogation
 "Où est ce que tu es en train d'aller ?"

Dans la langue *ḍébót*, le présent est adéquatement traduit par l'aspect inaccompli ou le progressif.

C. Habituel

Dans l'habituel, l'action est répétée de façon plus ou moins régulière et continuelle. L'aspect habituel caractérise l'action décrite par le verbe. Il indique l'action du verbe qui dure pendant un temps ou qui se répète couramment. Il est marqué par les morphèmes adverbiaux.

- (14) a. déà²ne² oèjíè ñgaàn paàr-paàr
 femme accoucher enfants toujours
 "La femme accouche toujours"
 "La femme continue d'accoucher"

- b. Moèdeà toàgí kéèbíà léè²neà² taà-taà aâl
 patro.masc laver habit de-lui souvent nég.
 "Modé ne lave pas de temps en temps son habit"
 "Modé ne lave pas souvent son habit"

- c. ndi kí ɓaèraà éèdí taà-taà
 pluie jonctif saison pluvieuse pleuvoir souvent
 "En saison pluvieuse, il pleut constamment"
 "En saison de pluie, il pleut souvent"

- d. *ɲjaè ɲjeè ndé²àñgí oâj aâl*
 pied propriétaire diarrhée mourir nég
 "Celui qui a la diarrhée n'est jamais fatigué pour le
 déplacement"
 " Qui a la diarrhée n'est jamais fatigué"

Dans l'exemple (14), en (a), l'habituel est caractérisé par le morphème [*paàr-paàr*]. C'est donc une reduplication qui traduit la répétition.

En (b), le morphème [*taà-taà*] qui veut dire de temps en temps est suivi par le marqueur de la négation. L'ensemble exprime l'habitude de modé de ne pas laver son habit.

En (d), l'habituel, n'est pas lexicalement marqué par les adverbes de temps comme le cas en (a), (b) et (c), mais c'est un proverbe dont l'expression [*oâj aâl*] "n'est jamais mort" exprime l'habituel.

D. Duratif

Le duratif est un aspect non-ponctuel qui exprime le caractère du procès en cours de réalisation. L'action exprimée ici n'est pas instantanée mais dure pour un certain temps. En *ḍébót*, c'est le morphème [*bíàtí*] qui veut dire "jusqu'au..." qui exprime la notion du duratif.

- (15) a. *ñgoè²ñgiè sí ñgéàm taè síà²nde*
 hyenne Aux garder bouche cheval
- bíàtí aèdiè loètià*
 jusqu'à donner aube
 "L'hyène est en train d'attendre les lèvres du cheval
 jusqu'à l'aube (matin)"

- b. ñgoà²maè²ndí ñgíàneè díàñgéèm bíàtí
 enfant-fille attendre homme jusqu'à

teà dóè ndaè tíà
 sortir tête blanc locatif

"La demoiselle est en train d'attendre l'homme jusqu'au cheveu blancs"

- c. kaèkaè só neà² bíàtí ñgaè²ñgeà
 grand-père manger chose jusqu'au dent
 "Le grand-père mange jusqu'au point d'être édenté complètement"

ro raàk-raàk
 abîmer reduplication

"Le grand-père mange jusqu'au point d'être édenté complètement"

Le duratif peut aussi être exprimé sans la marque du progressif mais juste en faisant usage du morphème [bíí], c'est le cas des exemples (b), (c) et (d) de (203).

De même, on peut utiliser les morphèmes adverbiaux comme :

1. Par-par : répétition, jusqu'à ...
2. Ruàtutuà : jusqu'à ...
3. ɲjaàl-ɲjaàl : jusqu'à ...

Ces locutions adverbiales servent à exprimer une action durative. Ce sont des notions très récurrentes dans la structure du *bébót*.

E. Ingressif

A travers l'imperfectif ingressif, l'action est au point du commencement, on commence avec l'intention de durer.

- (16) a. mbaâw leè ñgíèrèà kuèsóè kaèjí
pécheur mettre racine manger poisson
"Le pécheur commence à manger du poisson"
- b. ñgoèliàkol leà réâw teè deâw
élève mettre route sortir homme (quelqu'un)
"L'élève fraie le chemin de la réussite"
- c. kíàweè béàtí i²è kí kuàl (proverbe)
attraper sauterelle être jonctif froid
"Le rattrapage de sauterelle est pendant le froid"
"Il faut battre le fer pendant qu'il est chaud"
- d. ndi kí sí éèdí kaâm àè
pluie jonctif aux pleuvoir ce...ci aux
aw bíàtí loèduèl
aller jsuqu'à nuit
"Cette pluie qui est en train de pleuvoir ira jusqu'à la nuit"
- e. síànde kí to naè²ñgíè
cheval jonctif coucher à terre
kaâm àè 6i raàtataà loètià
ce...ci aux dormir jusqu'au matin
"Ce cheval ci qui est en train de se coucher va dormir jusqu'au matin"

Les exemples (a), (b) et (c) situent l'action au point du commencement par contre les exemples (d) et (e) montrent l'action qui commence avec l'intention de durer.

F. Complétif

Dans l'aspect complétif, l'action, est située à la fin, au point de terminer.

(17) a. sou sí tól taè neà² ndo lé²neè
 patro.masc aux tuer bouche chose apprendre de-lui
 "Sou est en train de terminer ses études"

b. basa-jeà kí míèteà sí
 jeune+pluriel jonctif trois aux

 aè²nià² maèn dóètíà (expression codée)
 boire eau tête/locatif
 "Les trois jeunes hommes sont en train de boire l'eau dessus"

c. mbaâw síè teà taègaù
 pécheur aux sortir dehors
 "Le pécheur est en train de sortir de l'eau"

d. ñgo²n kaèsíè sí ndéal ñgaè
 enfant bébé aux être reveil déjà
 "Le bébé est entrain de se reveiller"

e. boèjoè leè kaèwaè sí nduùm ñgaè
 champion de patro.fem. aux pourrir déjà
 "Le champion de Awa est en train de pourrir"

Les quatre exemples cités en (17) attestent que l'action est au point de finition. Les expressions ou syntagmes tels que [tól

ta] (a), [*dóètòà*] (b), [*teà taàga*] (c); [*ndéàl ñga*] (d) attestent l'aspect complétif.

5. Mode

'Le mode est une catégorie grammaticale associé en général au verbe et traduisant le type de communication institué par le locuteur, entre lui et son interlocuteur' (Dubois et al. 2007 :306). Le mode détermine le statut de la phrase. Le statut de la phrase est la structure définie par le mode de communication instauré entre le locuteur et l'interlocuteur. Le statut de la phrase, l'assertion de type (on déclare), l'interrogation (on pose une question) ou l'impératif (on ordonne). L'indicatif, le conditionnel, l'impératif et le subjonctif sont des modes personnels parce qu'ils se conjuguent à différentes personnes. Dans cette même perspective, Roberts (1999 :10) analyse ce concept :

Mode concerne la correspondance de l'action avec la réalité de nos expériences. Avec les nuances de mode, on peut insister sur la réalité d'une action ou la mettre question ; on peut imaginer sa possibilité ou sa nécessité, on peut la supposer, la poser comme condition.

En général, on note deux catégories dans le mode : réel et irréel. Le domaine du réel implique toute action qui correspond au monde réel selon les expériences vécues. Par contre, l'irréel couvre tout ce qui n'est pas réalisé, qui ne correspond pas au monde réel des expériences vécus. Ces deux catégories sont éclatées sous plusieurs étiquettes traditionnellement appelées indicatif, conditionnel, subjonctif, impératif etc. Ces domaines couvrent d'une manière ou d'une autre les réalités du *bébot*.

A. Indicatif

L'indicatif est le mode de base qui correspond au mode reel: 'The indicative mod is used to state what was, is, or will be, and covers a wide range of tenses' (Tamanji 2009 : 115). En français, l'indicatif couvre l'assertion et l'interrogation, c'est à

dire, les phrases assertives et interrogatives. Mais qu'en est-il de la langue *bébót*? Les deux domaines de l'indicatif ci-haut cités sont bel et bien applicables dans la langue *bébót*. Cependant, il n'y a pas une marque spéciale pour indiquer le mode indicatif.

B. Assertion

L'assertion est le mode de communication instituée par le sujet parlant entre lui et son interlocuteur et consiste à faire dépendre ses propositions : déclaration. L'assertion est exprimée dans la phrase affirmative ou négative:

C. Affirmation / négation

La phrase affirmative opposée à la phrase négative, est définie par son statut, l'affirmation.

(18) a. maè²ñgí aâw muà:
 bovin aller brousse

b. maè²ñgí aâw muà: aâl
 bovin aller brousse nég.
 "Le bœuf n'est pas allé en brousse"

c. déàwa oèjìè ñgoè²n
 patro.fem accoucher enfant
 "Déwa a accouché"

d. déàwa oèjìè ñgoè²n aâl
 patro.fem accoucher enfant nég.
 "Déwa n'a pas accouché"

e. ñgaè²n mbéètià ɓeà léèdeà
 enfants refuser village de-leur
 "Les enfants ont abandonné leur village"

f. ñgaè²n mbéètià ɓeà léèdeà aâl
 enfants refuser village de-leur nég.

"Les enfants n'ont pas abandonné leur village"

g. déà²ne² só móètíà maěngíà
femme manger penis bœuf
"La femme a mangé le pénis du bœuf"

h. déà²ne² só móètíà maěngí aâl
femme manger pénis bœuf nég.
"La femme ne mange pas le pénis du bœuf"

C. Interrogation

L'interrogation est le mode ou type de communication consistant à faire dépendre ses proposition d'une phrase implicite «Je te demande si; je te pose la question» (Dubois et al. 2007: 255). L'interrogation est exprimé dans une phrase interrogative, à l'affirmative ou négative. Elle peut être marquée en *bébót* par les particules, marqueurs interrogatives ou non. Elle peut également être marquée par la tonalité, surtout le ton haut.

(19a) waèkiàsaè só béèr àè
musulman manger cochon Interrog
"Le musulman a-t-il mangé le cochon ?"

b. waèkiàsaè só béèr aâl àè
musulman manger cochon nég interrog.
"Le musulman n'a-t-il pas mangé le cochon ?"

(20a) ñgo²n aèŋ aèrígeà wa boire
enfant sp. interrog. alcool
"L'enfant a-t-il bu l'alcool."

b. ngo²n aèŋaèrígeà aâl wa boire
enfant sp. nég interrog alcool
"L'enfant n'a-t-il pas bu l'alcool ?"

(21a) naà² só muèjuè
 qui manger haricot
 "Qui a mangé du haricot ?"

b. naà só muèjuè aâl
 qui manger haricot nég
 "Qui n'a pas mangé du haricot ?"

(22a) rià sí ra neà
 quoi Aux faire chose
 "Qu'est-ce qui se passe."

b. rià sí ra neà al wa
 quoi Aux faire chose nég Interrog.
 "Qu'est-ce qui ne vas pas ?"

Dans les exemples (20), l'interrogation est marquée par le morphème [wa] à la fin de la phrase. Par contre en (21) et (22), l'interrogation est marquée par les morphèmes [naà], [rià] qui intervient au début de la phrase. Quant aux interronégative, le marqueur de la négation [aâl] vient soit à la fin de la phrase soit avant la marque de l'interrogation.

Autre forme de l'interrogation marquée peut se faire de cette façon :

(23) a. rià-eà "qu'est-ce qui s'est passé ?"
 b. baà²n-eà "comment ?"

En (23), il y a certes les particules marqueurs de l'interrogation, mais l'interrogation marquée par le ton haut porté sur la voyelle finale qui représente le complément d'objet du verbe qui est implicite. De même, il y a en *bébót*, de formes interrogatives marquées uniquement par le ton, sans particule de l'interrogation, c'est une marque récurrente dans la langue. On peut les constater dans les exemples suivants :

- (25a) maè²n taà loà:
 eau prendre étendu/espace
 "L'eau a pris l'espace"
 "y-a-t-il inondation ?"
- b. maè²n taà loè: aâl
 eau prendre étendu nég.
 "L'eau n'a pas pris l'espace"
 "N'y-a-t-il pas d'inondation ?"
- (26a) taâ²n aè nduà²m
 sauce Aux pourir
 "La sauce va-t-elle pourir ?"
- b. ta²ân aè ndum aâl
 sauce aux pourir nég
 "La sauce ne va-t-elle pas pourir"

En (26-a), l'interrogation est marquée par le ton haut sur le dernier morphème [loà:], par contre, en (b), ce même morphème porte le ton bas. Et l'interrogation est marquée par le ton haut du marqueur de la négation.

De la même manière, en (26-b), le prédicat qui portait le ton haut en (a) marquant l'interrogation, porte désormais le ton moyen car l'interrogation est marquée par le morphème de la négation qui termine la phrase.

De ce qui précède, on se rend compte que le mode indicatif permet d'analyser la chaîne parlée du *bébót* à travers le temps, passé, présent et futur. Les formes assertives et interrogatives sont compatibles à ce mode. (Quant aux interrogations, nous y reviendrons plus tard dans les énonciations)

A. Subjonctif (optatif)

Le mode subjonctif attribue souvent à ses formes des valeurs irréelles ou virtuelles. 'L'action est souhaitée, désirée, crainte ou incertaine' (Roberts 1999: 10). On peut reconnaître au subjonctif une valeur d'irréel ou de virtuel. Mais la notion d'irréel ou de virtuel ne permet pas de prédire dans quel contexte le système de la langue *bébot* autorise ou interdit l'occurrence entre le subjonctif qui est régi après les syntagmes nominaux suivants [soètíà kaèdíà]; [mbaè kaèdíà]; [koâ kaèdíà]; [taè kaèdíà], suivi du prédicat ou verbe conjugué plus syntagme nominal ou pas.

Kaèdíà signifie initialement le fait de donner. Mais utilisé dans le contexte du mode subjonctif, on peut le traduire en français par "que". Ainsi, nous pouvons formuler comme règle:

Règle 3: Emploi du subjonctif

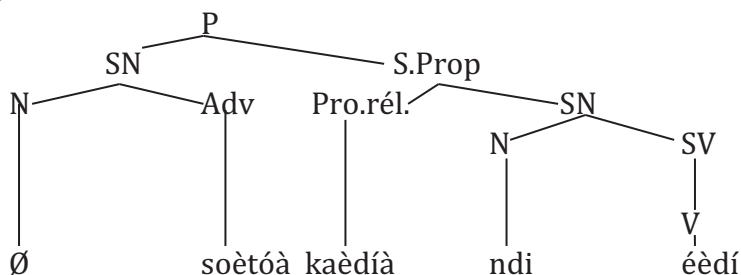
Subjonctif = SN + Que + SN + Prédicat ...

Cette formulation veut dire que le subjonctif est formé de quatre constituants essentiels. Le point de suspension signifie qu'il peut y avoir de compléments. Mais le complément est facultatif. Car même sans complément le mode subjonctif est possible.

(27) soètóà kaèdíà ndi éèdí
 mieux que pluie tomber
 "Il vaut mieux qu'il pleuve"

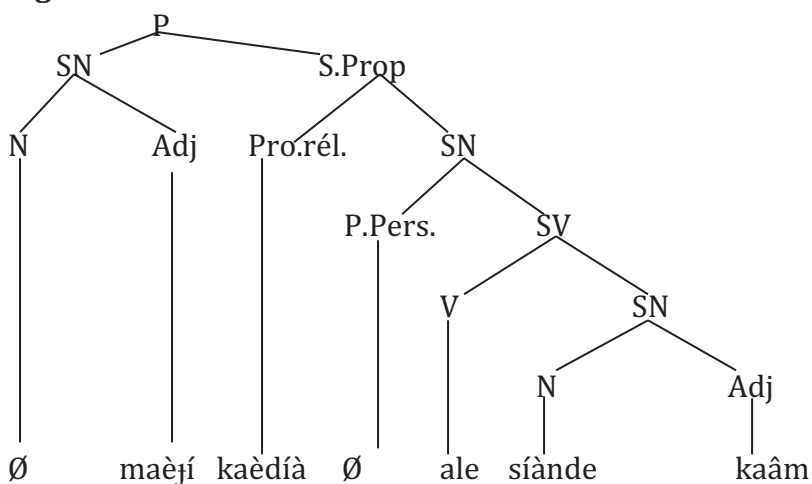
En application de la règle l'exemple (27) aura la configuration arborescente suivante :

Figure 24.8



- 28) Maèjí kaèdíà ale síànde kaâm
 bon que montrer cheval ce...
 "Que tu montes ce cheval"

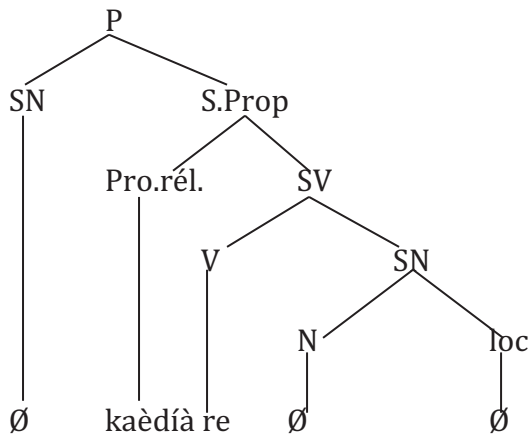
Figure 24.9



Dans le cas de l'emploi du subjonctif, on peut avoir de cas où plusieurs catégories sont non marquées. L'exemple de la troisième personne du singulier et du pluriel en est une illustration.

- (29a) kaèdíà re
 que Ø venir
 "Qu'il vienne"

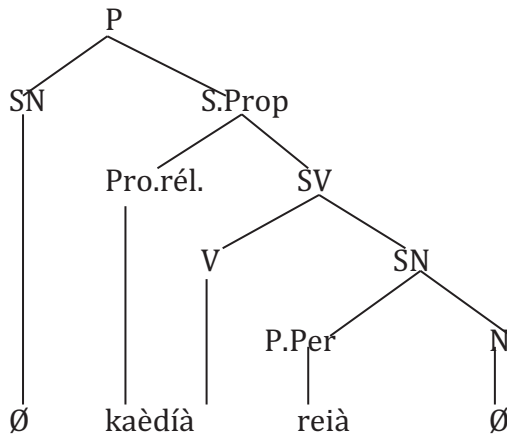
Figure 24.10



Dans l'exemple (29) le syntagme prépositionnel occupe la tête de la phrase. De ce fait, le spécifier de (P) est vide. Et comme nous avons dit que le subjonctif peut autoriser l'expansion ou non, c'est pourquoi le nœud branchant du syntagme nominal est marqué par zéro, marque du vide.

- b. kaedìà réè-ià
 que venir ils
 "Qu'ils viennent"

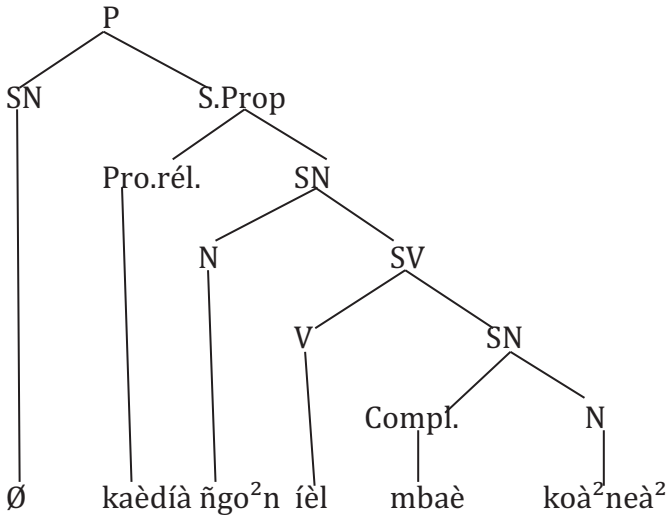
Figure 24.11



Par contre, il y a des cas où toutes les catégories constituant le syntagme propositionnel sont marquées lexicalement.

(30a) kaèdíà ñgo²n íèl mbaè koà²neà²
 que enfant téter mamelle mère-sa
 "Que le bébé tète sa mère"

Figure 24.12



De ce qui précède, nous pouvons dire que l’emploi du subjonctif dans la langue *bébót* est une chose évidente.

La phrase est constituée du syntagme nominal et le syntagme propositionnel. Le nœud du syntagme nominal est soit occupé par un adverbe de souhait, un adjectif soit par une catégorie vide. Le syntagme propositionnel a pour tête le pronom relatif suivi soit du syntagme verbal soit du syntagme nominal. Ce mode exprime donc le souhait, le regret et l’imprécation.

A. Mode conditionnel

Dans cette section, nous abordons le mode conditionnel. Lequel mode action y est hypothétique, potentielle, le locuteur prend une réserve. ‘The conditional mood describes a condition-conséquence’ (Tamanji 2009 : 127). Ce mode sert

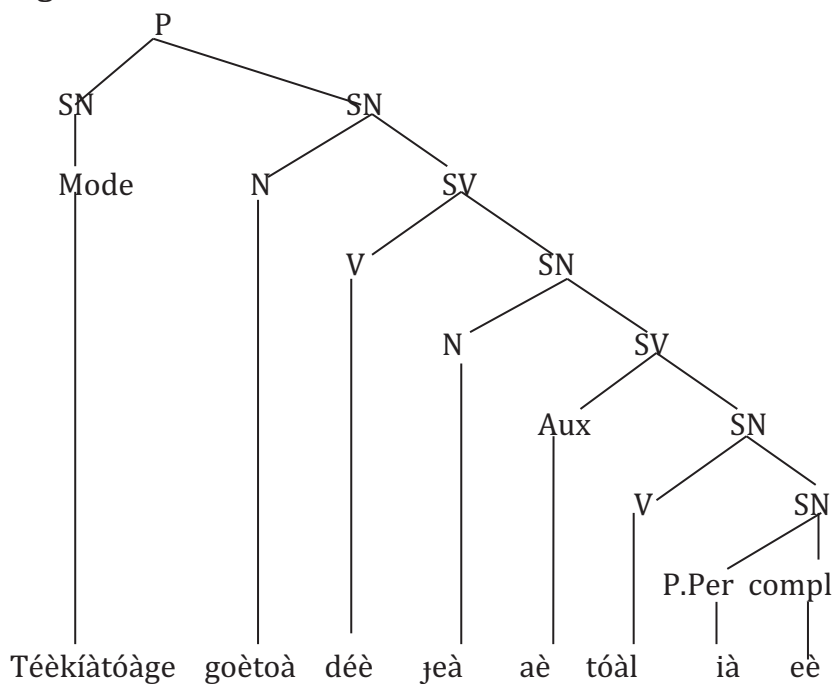
donc à présenter l'action comme une éventualité, comme soumise à une condition. Ce mode est en interaction avec le temps et la négation. En *bébot*, le mode conditionnel est introduit par le morphème [*téèkià*] que nous pouvons traduire par "si".

Ce morphème se place toujours à l'initial de la phrase. Elle sous-tend une seconde phrase qui peut être réalisée ou sous-entendue.

- (31) a. *téèkià* *bià:* *raâj*
 si *somel* *faire-toi*
 "Si tu as sommeil"
- b. *téèkià bo* *raâj eè* *sòaneè ta*
 si *faim* *faire-toi* *alors* *manger-chose*
 "Si tu as faim, mange alors"
- c. *téèkià miù géèr* *be,* *m̄* *aà*
 si *je* *savoir* *ainsi* *je* *aux*
 miàre *aâl*
 je-venir *nég*
 "Si j'avais su ainsi, je n'allais pas venir"
- d. *téèkià toàge goètoà,* *déèjeà* *a* *tóà* *liàeè*
 si *force* *finir* *hommes* *aux* *tuer* *lui*
 "S'il n'a pas de force, il allait être tué"
 "S'il n'a pas de force, les hommes allaient le tuer"

La structure d'une phrase conditionnelle peut être illustrée de manière suivante :

Figure 24.13



Comme règle du conditionnel, on peut écrire :

Règle 4 : Emploi du conditionnel

Cond. : Si + SN + SV ...

Cette règle veut dire que dans le mode conditionnel, on emploi comme tête, la conjonction "si" suivie du syntagme verbal. Le point de suspension traduit l'élément facultatif.

A. Potentiel

Le potentiel exprime, dans les phrases hypothétiques, l'action qui se réaliserait dans l'avenir si la condition était réalisée (Dubois et al. 2007: 375). En *bébot*, le potentiel peut être marqué par les morphèmes [*aèsí-kaèdí*] qui signifie "il se peut que". Ce syntagme peut être utilisé dans un contexte conditionné. On peut aussi l'employer dans un contexte d'un morphème discontinu marquant la condition. On peut formuler la règle de la potentialité comme suit :

(32)

aèsí-kaèdí + V ⇨ Location potentiel + Verbe

aèsí-kaèdí + SV + téèkíà ⇨ Location potentiel + Verbe + Si ...

Règle 5 : Potentiel

Pot. = Loc-Pot + V + Si ...

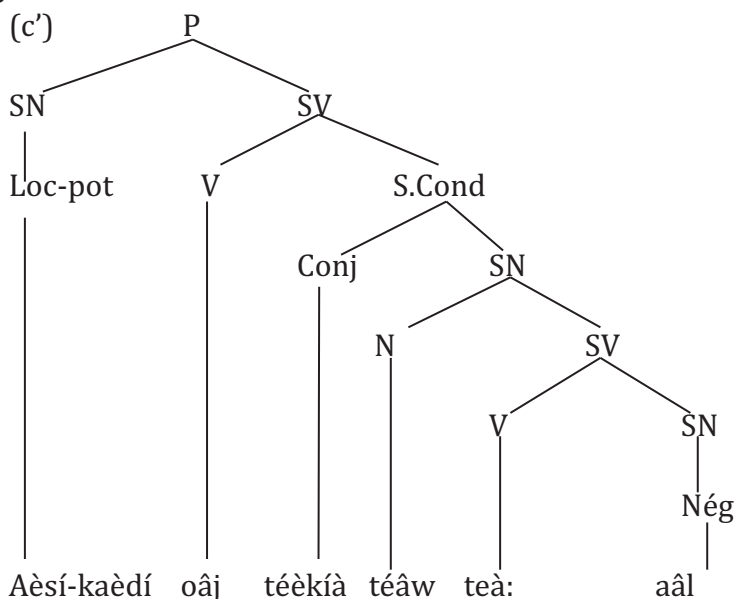
En application de cette règle, nous avons les exemples suivants :

(33a) aèsí-kaèdí reà
 il se peut que Ø arriver
 "Il se peut qu'il arrive"

b. aèsí-kaèdí oètíà ñgaà²neè² téèkíà ra kuèleà
 il se peut que transporter enfant-ses Si Ø faire travail
 "Il se peut qu'il s'occupe bien de ses enfants, s'il travail"

c. aèsí-kaèdí oâj téèkíà déâw teà aâl
 il se peut que mourir si homme sortir nég
 "Il se peut qu'il meurt si personne n'apparaît"

Figure 24.14



Par contre, en (a) *aèsí kaèdí reà* exprime une action potentielle sans l'élément conditionnel. C'est possible qu'il arrive, c'est aussi possible qu'il n'arrive pas d'où la potentialité.

A. Impératif

L'impératif est un mode exprimant un ordre donné à un ou plusieurs interlocuteurs. Des phrases impératives peuvent être affirmatives ou négatives. En *bébót*, le mode impératif est considéré comme ayant un aspect imperfectif. On utilise souvent le morphème [*aè*], auxiliaire du futur pour marquer ce mode à la deuxième personne du singulier et du pluriel.

- | | | |
|---------|---------------|-----------------|
| (34) a. | aê reà | "viens" |
| b. | aê teà aâl | "ne sors pas" |
| c. | aê sóâjià | "mangez" |
| d. | aê sóâjià aâl | "ne mangez pas" |

Dans l'exemple (34), les pronoms personnels sujets des deuxièmes personnes du singulier et du pluriel [*îà*] s'efface au

contact de l'auxiliaire qui précède le prédicat cependant le sujet peut être un nom marqué.

(35) a. ñgo²n aè só neà²
 enfant aux manger chose
 "L'enfant va manger"

b. ñgo²n aè só neà aâl
 enfant aux manger chose nég
 "L'enfant ne va pas manger ; l'enfant ne mange pas"

Dans les deux cas, l'impératif, notamment l'ordre est marqué par le ton porté sur la dernière syllabe. Le plus souvent le ton haut. On constate que l'impératif n'a pas de valeur temporelle en *bébót*, seul le contexte (adverbe) permet de situer le procès (tout de suite, ce soir, demain). Il permet surtout d'exprimer, à la fois, l'idée d'une action et la volonté de son exécution (en phrase affirmative) ou de son interdiction (en phrase négative).

(36) a. aê aàw kaèlaè²ñgíà
 Aux aller rapidement
 "Vas vite"

b. aê aàw kaèlaè²ñgíà aâl
 Aux aller rapidement nég
 "Ne vas pas vite"

(37) a. aê reà loètià tíà
 Aux venir demain locatif
 "Viens demain"

b. aê reà loètià tíà aâl
 aux venir demain locatif nég
 "Ne viens pas demain"

A noter que l'impératif est un mode qui est d'usage courant dans les milieux *bébot*. Cette communauté aime assumer les fonctions impératives. La fonction impérative est la fonction du langage par laquelle l'émetteur tend à imposer au destinataire un comportement déterminé (Dubois 2007 :241). On appelle aussi cette fonction conative, injonctive.

Conclusion

Ce travail a été consacré aux catégories grammaticales liées au déroulement d'une action. Il s'agit du temps, aspect et mode. Ces notions consistent à donner un sens à la description de toute forme verbale de la langue *bébot*. Le temps concerne le point de référence auquel on situe l'action. A travers cet article, nous avons pu distinguer trois temps pour l'analyse de la chaîne parlée du *bébot*. Notamment, le passé, le présent et le futur. Ces trois temps correspondent respectivement à la distinction de l'évènement révolu, l'évènement en cours de déroulement et l'évènement à venir.

Le passé se réfère aux évènements révolus. Nous avons distingué dans la langue *bébot*, le passé composé et le passé simple. Le passé composé a été appréhendé comme un passé indéterminé. Il est non-marqué. Par contre, le passé que nous avons traduit par passé simple est un temps déterminé, marqué par les morphèmes temporels.

Quant au présent, temps qui situe l'action simultanément avec le point de référence. En *bébot*, on distingue le présent progressif et le présent habituel. Mais dans notre analyse nous avons mis l'accent sur le présent progressif. Il fait référence à un évènement en cours de déroulement au moment de l'énonciation. Il est caractérisé par le morphème [sɪ]. Par contre le présent habituel se réfère à un évènement présenté comme se produisant habituellement dans une période de temps qui englobe le moment de l'énonciation. Le présent habituel est marqué par les morphèmes temporels.

Le futur est appréhendé comme une inférence à partir d'une signification modale d'intention ou de nécessité. Si quelqu'un à l'intention de faire quelque chose, la probabilité qu'il le fasse dans l'avenir est forte d'où l'intention ou la nécessité peuvent évoluer vers une signification de prédiction. En *bébot*, le futur est marqué par le morphème [aè] que nous avons considéré comme auxiliaire "Aux" du futur.

L'aspect a été analysé comme une catégorie qui situe la complexité de l'action dans la langue. Nous avons distingué deux catégories d'aspect : le perfectif, qui est associé au temps passé et l'imperfectif est lié au temps présent et future. Cette catégorie a une connotation complexe. Car on peut se trouver au début, au milieu ou à la fin de l'action. 'Le terme aspect est employé pour exprimer le point de vue du locuteur sur la situation. Il est utilisé pour se référer à la temporalité interne de la situation' (Comrie 1976) cité par Abdoulaye (2005 :90).

Enfin, le dernier élément du triplet qui constitue ce chapitre est le mode. Ce concept a été défini par Weismann et al. (1984) cité par Abdoulaye (2005 :91) 'le mode est l'habitude du locuteur ou de l'agent vis-à-vis de l'action qui se déroule.' Il s'agit de la concordance de l'action avec la réalité expérimentale. Nous avons distingué le mode réel qui correspond à l'indicatif et le mode irréel. Ce mode vise ce qui n'est pas réalisé, ce qui est probable si non hypothétique. Il concerne le conditionnel, l'optatif, l'impératif. Chacun de modes est marqué par des morphèmes ou syntagmes temporels précis. L'emploi des éléments qui ont constitué cet article est soutenu par des règles précises du *bébot*. Ce travail lèvent un pan de voile sur les différentes composantes de la syntaxe dans l'optique de combler un vide scientifique qui jusqu'ici était encore remarquable. Le fait que la langue *bébot* soit restée jusqu'ici suffisamment inexplorée s'avère donc être la motivation principale.

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ⁱMbin-mbin est un nom qui est donné aux esclavagistes camerounais envoyé par Ray-Bouba de L'ADAMAWA au Sud du Tchad.

Grammaticalized verbal and nominal forms in Kanuri/Kanembu

Doris Löhr and Eva Rothmaler, Universität Bayreuth

1. Introduction

The study of grammaticalization processes in a language is a favourite topic for linguistic research. To analyze these processes in a comparably well-studied language like Kanuri is still intriguing when dialectal data of lesser-studied varieties are at hand that seem to add new insights and challenge the traditional common knowledge.

The paperⁱ wants to analyse some of the grammaticalization processes that had been discovered in the western Kanuri dialects spoken in Nigeria – by far the best-studied division of the language – complemented with recent findings from the eastern part of the Kanuri-Kanembu dialect cluster, i.e., the dialects spoken in Niger and Chad.

Our aim is – besides the documentation and a theoretical approach to grammaticalization (chapter 2) – the discussion to which extent a dialect continuum is able to handle different developments or processes of a single phenomenon, and still can be considered a continuum of one language. By the same token, we will query the value of traditional grammatical descriptions, if the majority of Kanuri studies treat only one – yet important – variety of the dozen existing.

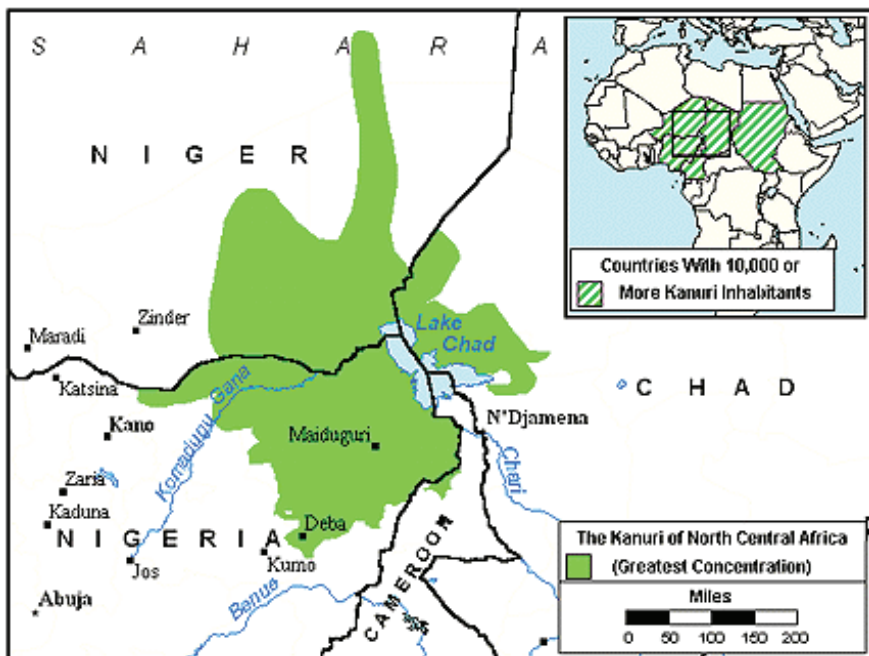
We will follow and develop the scheme of various frozen verbal forms that became grammaticalized in present-day Kanuri. Data from Western and Eastern Kanuri varieties will be discussed in chapters 3 and 4. A summary in chapter 5 will conclude.

A. The Kanuri language

Kanuri is the westernmost Saharanⁱⁱ language (within the Nilo-Saharan phylum) spoken by some 3-4 million speakers in the western vicinity of Lake Chad, i.e., in parts of eastern Niger, but mainly in Borno and Yobe states of north-eastern Nigeria, and in adjacent regions across the borders in eastern Niger and northern Cameroon to the west and south of Lake Chad. Kanuri can be assumed to form a dialect continuum with its close relative Kanembu. While Kanuri is mainly spoken in Borno and Yobe states of Nigeria and in adjacent regions across the international borders into Eastern Niger and Northern Cameroon to the west and south of Lake Chad, its sister language Kanembu is mainly spoken east of the Lake in the Kanem region in Western Chad (cf. Löhr and Wolff 2009:166).

The divergence from the ancestral Saharan language, i.e., classical Kanembuⁱⁱⁱ, subsequently led to the development of a dialect continuum, with Kanuri and Kanembu as distinct points perhaps at the extremes. Western Kanuri^{iv} includes Mowar and Yerwa, Dagera and Manga. Eastern Kanuri embraces Bilma and Fachi varieties. Western Kanembu consists of Tumari, Kuwuri and Suwurti. Eastern Kanembu comprises the quite unstudied varieties of Bol, Kowono/Mao, Ngaldoukou, Ngouri, Kaidi, and Massakory. The map shows the regional extension of the Kanembu-Kanuri dialects:

Map 25.1: The regional distribution of Kanuri/Kanembu dialect cluster



Before we discuss Kanuri data, we will give a brief introduction into some relevant studies for grammaticalization processes in general as well as in Kanuri.

2. Grammaticalization

Grammaticalization is mostly described as process of semantic bleaching and development of grammatical function (cf. Heine and Reh 1984), i.e., the concept moved from concrete to abstract. Other descriptions define grammaticalization as entering of a sign into the grammatical system, which also means its submission under grammatical rules (cf. Lehmann 2012). Himmelmann (2004) describes grammaticalization as development of a lexical item to a marker of a grammatical category whereby the changes in the functional range must be described in terms of construction.

Heine and Reh (1984:95, referring to Lord 1976:179) state that reanalysis is involved. The term describes processes by which e.g. a verb loses semantic, morphological and syntactic properties, and survives as a grammatical morpheme marking a

relationship between clauses. Different scenarios or stages of grammaticalization have been suggested. Heine and Reh (1984:67) developed the following steps a given linguistic unit might under go in the process of grammaticalization:

- The more a form is grammaticalized;
1. The more it loses in semantic complexity, functional significance, and/or expressive value.
 2. The more it loses in pragmatic and gains in syntactic significance.
 3. The more reduced is the number of members belonging the same morphosyntactic paradigm.
 4. The more its syntactic variability decreases: its position in the clause becomes fixed.
 5. The more its use becomes obligatory in some contexts and ungrammatical in others
 6. The more it combines semantically, morphosyntactically and phonetically with other units.
 7. The more it loses in phonetic substance.
 8. The more is its morphophonological status affected by evolution: allophony>allomorphy>suppletion.

Taking the fact that new grammatical functions do not arise homogenously but are bound to specific contexts, Heine (2002:86) presented a setting of how a linguistic expression acquires a new grammatical meaning and describes the scenario of grammaticalization in four steps:

Table 25.1: A scenario of grammaticalization (Heine 2002:86)

<u>Stage</u>	<u>Context</u>	<u>Resulting meaning</u>
Initial stage	Unconstrained	source meaning
Bridging context	a specific context giving rise to an inference in favour of a new meaning	target meaning foregrounded
Switch context	There is a new context which is incompatible with the source meaning	source meaning back-grounded

Conventionalization	The target meaning no longer needs to be supported by the context that gave rise to it; it may be used in new contexts	target meaning only
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Table 25.1 tries to summarize the approaches of different authors to define grammaticalization. The definitions of the various authors differ; the changes involved are fairly the same.

Table 25.2: A summary of concepts of grammaticalization

<u>Process</u>	<u>Grammaticalization</u>
Definitions:	Development of grammatical function (cf. Heine and Reh 1984)
	Change of functional range
	Involves an analytic access to a unit (cf. Lehmann 2002)
	Reduces the autonomy of a unit
	‘The subset of cross-linguistically recurring correlations among semantic-pragmatic, morphosyntactic and sometimes phonological changes.’ (Hopper and Traugott 2003:1)
Changes involved:	Erosion Fusion Desegmentalization

In the following, we will discuss grammaticalized verbal forms in Kanuri for which some of the reviewed grammaticalization processes at different stages seem appropriate. We will introduce grammatical forms and parts of the grammatical system, which look like verbal forms, but not necessarily function or at least not only (or no longer) function as these.

3. Frozen verbal forms in Kanuri/Kanembu

A. The verb *n-* ‘say, think, intend’ in Saharan languages and Kanuri

In many languages, the grammaticalization of a *verbum dicendi* to a “quotative marker” and/or to a syntactic marker can be observed (cf. Ebert 1991, Crass 2002). In contemporary Kanuri, the defective verb *n-* ‘say, think, intend’ – in the citation form *n (gin)^v*– functions as an auxiliary verb in verb class II^{vi}, and the 3SG sequential form developed into a quotative marker. Discussing the grammaticalization of subordinators in Kanuri, Cyffer (2011:40) remarks that generally a high degree of grammaticalization is at work in Kanuri.

Crass (2002:240) notes six steps of grammaticalization of “say”, set up by Ebert (1991:87), out of which four are realized in Kanuri and the other Saharan languages, namely:

1. Complete form standing between *verbum dicendi* and complement,
2. Reduction of morphological marking,
3. Particle (not changeable) as quotative marker (and ‘invention’ of a new verb with former meaning),
4. Particle moved into object sentence, functions as conjunction.

In the case of *n-* in Saharan languages two different developments can be observed: on the one hand the verb is grammaticalized into an auxiliary, which functions as verbal basis of Kanuri synchronic verb class II. On the other hand a converb or ‘sequential’ form of the verb developed into a quotative marker denoting reported speech (cf. Rothmaler 2011).

The view of Serzisko (1987:88f, cited by Crass 2002) who assumes two different channels of grammaticalization of ‘say’ mirrors this development perfectly:

5. A functional channel leads to the development into a modal verb and part of conjugational scheme, and

6. A semantic channel leads to the development of a subordinating particle and quotative marker.

The verb *n* (*gin*) still exists as a defective verb in contemporary Kanuri. It is irregular in the following respects:

7. The root consist of a single consonant, i.e. *n*-,

8. It is not used in all tenses and aspects,

9. It carries always low tone, except in the dependent past; e.g. no polar tone for imperfect as usual,

10. It is deleted when it is prefixed

The lexical root *gul*- with the meaning ‘say, speak’ has been borrowed from Arabic and is used in addition to the verb *n*-. The root *gul*- carries the lexical meaning and is attached to *n* (*gin*) as AUX in VC II, e.g. 1SG.IMPF *gulngîn* ‘I say’.^{vii}

The verb root in verb class I carries only the lexical information; verb class II is composed of a lexical marker (formerly called “meaning carrier”) which carries the semantic information (here *gul*- ‘to say’) and the AUX (the verb root *n*-). The basic morphological set-up of VC II is as follows:

LM – [3SG/PL]^{viii} – **TAM** – 3SG/PL – PL – **AUX** – TONE – 1,2SG/PL – TAM

An example of the imperfect paradigm of the verb ‘say’, VC II, with *n*- as AUX (in bold), is given in table 3.

Table 25.3: Imperfect form of “to say” in three varieties

Person	Kanuri/ Yerwa	Kanembu/ Tumari	Kanembu/ Bol
1SG	gul n gîn	wullon	wul n jîki
2SG	gul n âmin	wulyen	wulsâmi
3SG	guljîn	wulyin	wulsî
1PL	gul n yên	wuliye(n)	wulsân
2PL	gul n ûwin	wulyon	wul n yen
3PL	gulzâin	wulyein	wulsei

Interestingly, the regular manifestation in Western Kanuri (marked in 1SG/PL and 2SG/PL, unmarked in 3SG/PL) is in opposition to a more fragmentary use in the Eastern dialects. The data from Bol and Tumari show an unmarkedness (or deletion) of *n*- in an environment where *Yerwa* retains it seems

to be the default option. Whether it is due to assimilation is difficult to decide. We cannot evaluate from today's knowledge whether less importance is given by the mother tongue speakers to the realization of *-n-* or whether the phonological rules that were set up by linguists for "Kanuri" hold true for only a small part of the dialect cluster. In the language of the *Qur'anic* glosses (17th century), we find the form *gulski* "I was saying", being realized without the *n-* as well. The Tumari variety has obviously undergone a higher degree of assimilation processes than other dialects, which explains at least some forms.

In the following, we provide an example of the converb, with *n-* as quotative marker:

- (1) *bawa-nəmin* *nyí-ro* *yâ-nyí* *sə*
 father-POSS.EMPH you-IO mother-POSS say.3SG.SEQ

gul-wóno *yakkə-ro* *gúl-wada*.
 say-3SG.PAST three-ADV say-3PL.PAST

"Your father said to you that you are his mother" they said three times." (Rothmaler 1991:69)

Though Hutchison does not use the term subordinator, he gives an example of *n-* in this function (1981:324):

- (2) *wú* *dóndi* *nge* *ásəm* *cidəko*
 1SG sick(ness) say.1SG.SEQ pretence do.1SG.PAST
 "I pretended saying I was sick."

Both functions represent forms of what Serzisko (1987) called the semantic channel of grammaticalization.

A. The discourse conjoiner *dají*

In linguistic descriptions of Kanuri *dají* is labelled mainly as a "conjunction", e.g. by Lukas (1937), with reference to the verb *dangîn* 'stand, be finished', and used as connective in stories to join sentences and to describe sequences of actions.

Cyffer and Hutchison (1990:31) refer to the verb *da-ngîn*, “stand, place oneself”; *dají* is given as “it is finished”, followed by ‘conj. “then, and then” (usu. as a connective in a narrative context). Bulakarima et al. (2003) list ‘1. part.: “then, after that,” 2. adj. “finished, end,”’ without reference to a verb. Schuh (2011:141) labels *daji* a clausal and discourse conjoiner, and provides examples of *daji*, being borrowed into Chadic languages in Yobe State Nigeria as *daci*. In a paper on discourse markers in Kanuri (Löhr 2006) mentions *dàjí*, *dai*, and *daci*, as spread in the whole Western Lake Chad area and used by Kanuri and speakers of Central Chadic Malgwa with temporal function, also in enumeration, with the translation “then”.

The morphological form can be identified as the regular 3SG verb emphasis past (VEP, which is the non-marked perfective in other Saharan languages) of the verb *da-*. The “old” perfective form acquired a special role (VEP) when new TAMs evolved in Kanuri (cf. Wolff and Löhr 2005). *Da-* is a meaning carrier “stand”, place O. S. of VC II, verbalised with *n-* as AUX. The verb fully functions in contemporary Kanuri according to the regular inflexional paradigm. Though being a regular form, the 3SG VEP of the verb *da-* developed a specific use as conjunction with the meaning “then”, “and then”.

Following the steps of grammaticalization of Ebert (1991), which were adopted by Crass (2002), discussing the grammaticalization of “say”, we can assign the following steps in the case of *dají*:

1. Loss of semantic complexity of the verbal form,
2. Increased syntactic significance (conjunction),
3. Decreased syntactic variability (of the conjunction).

It seems that its use becomes obligatory in certain contexts though Kanuri could also use a construction with a converb. Double marking is often found during grammaticalization as interim stage of ‘competing’ old and new forms.

Another form of the same verb seems to undergo a process of grammaticalization as well: *dazána*, the 3SG perfect of the verb *da-* ‘stand, place oneself’ develops into a pragmatic marker, which is still in the semantic range of the verb though specialized in context. *Dazána* is used to mark the end of a story

or episode, mainly in narratives and stories. It stands alone and constitutes a sentence with the meaning “it is over”, “the story is finished”.^{ix}

We would assign the term “pragmatization” or “reanalysis” used by Heine and Reh (1984) to processes like this. In the outlined use *dazána* can best be considered as a particle with pragmatic function: it has lost semantic complexity, but it gained pragmatic significance. The syntactic variability decreased and its position (in the text) became fixed, and it forms a clause by itself.

It is not obligatory but as a formula it gives a clear signal to the listener and is mostly used in spoken language and storytelling. In Heine and Reh (1984) again a distinction is drawn between the evolution of lexical and grammatical morphemes on the one hand and syntactic and pragmatic structures on the other. In the outlined case of *dají* and *dazána* we may assign *dají* to have evolved on the one string and *dazána* on the other. Parallel to the described functions the forms remain part of the paradigm of the verb “stand, stop”.

Examples of *dají* in stories:

(3)	Dají	Mámmán	kúfu-	Rábi-	dají	kólgáta
		Târ	nzó-a	ga		
	then	<i>Mamman</i>	follower-	Rabeh-	then	meet.PART
		<i>Târ</i>	3SG.POSS-	DO		
			ASSOC			

‘Then Mamman Tar and his followers met (with) Rabeh.’ (Ali Gamboru 1979:51)

(4)	Nâ-	kargâ	kargâ	gəm	dají	Mairá
	dê-n					Mairámma
	Place-	live.3SG.	live.3SG.	ID	then	<i>Mairá</i>
	DET-LOC	PAST	PAST			<i>Mairámma</i>

baânyâ	bawá-nyí	dají	báwa-nyí-ga	súwúdu
die.3SG.DEP.PAST	father-1SG.POSS	then	aunt-1SG.POSS.DO	bring.3SG.SEQ

gənáada	Mairá-	súwúdu	Mairá-	dají	gənáwono.
	ro		ro		
place.3PL.	Maira-	bring.3SG.SEQ	Maira-	then	place.3SG.
PAST	IO		IO		PAST

‘They lived long at this place, then, when Maira Mairamma died, my father brought my aunt and made her Maira, he brought her and enthroned her as Maira.’ (Rothmaler 1991:61)

Only the context renders the finite verbal form into a discourse and end-of-story-marker.

(5) Dazéna.

stand.3SG.PERF

‘It is finished’. /He has stopped.

Hutchison (1981:323) provides an example of a sequential, discussed recently in studies of converbs in Kanuri (e.g. Bondarev 2010b, Rothmaler 2011):

(6) Âm sámma ísa dazéna.
 people all come.3PL.SEQ finish.3SG.PERF
 ‘All the people have arrived.’

The equivalent form of *dají* is rendered in Kanembu as *dayí* (with a higher degree of palatalization). *Dayí/dají* with the translation ‘then’ serves as discourse marker, which has an additional grammatical function, e.g. consecutive marker. It occurs only in sentence- or clause-initial and leads to a sequential interpretation of the two sentences in the discourse; it links the reference times of the two clauses (hence allowing the event times to be ordered). It is used predominantly in monologues, or narrative texts.

The following example is taken from Bodoi data (an accent within Yerwa dialect, cf. Bulakarima 1997):

(7) Dérízə kólji méré, dayí shíkenan zəpcíya
 go.round. join. of.course then that’s.it descend.
 3SG.SEQ 3SG.IMP 3SG.DEP.FUT

yé kâ kurúwu dayí gónéwíya bángnéwi.
 AA stick long then take.AUX.2PL.DEF.FUT beat.AUX.2PL.IMPF
 ‘It goes all the way around, of course, and then, that’s it, even when it comes down, too, when you then take a long stick, you beat again.’ (Löhr 2009, ref BO-CAS-12 586)^x

The next example was noted during fieldwork in Bol (Löhr ms.) and demonstrates the use of *dayí* as marking a sequence of actions:

(8) Malum- napcíya cû amar-tə́ ngô cû
 nyí
 Malam sit.3SG. naming. allow-VN voilà naming.
 1SG.POSS DEP.FUT ceremony ceremony
 “wáne njú-k-o” gúllə́míya, dayí áðə́ái dayí.
 Some give/2SG.OBJ.- say.2SG. then it.is.like.this then
 one 1SG.NEP DEP.FUT

“When the religious teacher is seated you say ‘I name him/her so-and-so person,’ then he names.”

Example 9 is taken from Bodoi, being an accent within Yerwa variety; cf. Löhr (2009:35):

(9) Aa garrâm Mówar-ra-ye áðə́, Mówar-ra-ye
 yes origin Mowar-ASSOC-AM DEM Mowar-ASSOC-AM
 garrâm-nzá áðə́ dayí, sáide biyá yalá-də́-má.
 origin- DEM then only only north-DEF-FOC
 3PL.POSS

‘Yes, this history of the Mowar, the Mowar, their history is then just only [coming from] the north.’ (Ref BO-MUP-00 388).

The realization as *dací*, being a more ancient form of Kanuri, is verified in the borrowings of this clausal and discourse conjoiner into some Chadic languages of Yobe state (Schuh 2011:141f.)^{xi} He comments on *dají*: ‘Originally in Kanuri, however, it would have been an integral part of a sequence of verbs, a meaning that it could never have in Chadic. In modern Kanuri likewise it is bleached to the point of having no literal verbal meaning.’ (Schuh 2011:142).

A. The existential marker *mbéjǐ* and its plural counterpart *mbézái*

Kanuri dictionaries give information on the existential marker *mbéjǐ* and its plural counterpart *mbézái*.^{xii} Lukas (1937) simply translates it as ‘there is, there are’. In Cyffer and Hutchison (1990) the same translation is given, they additionally classify it as verb. In Bulakarima et al. (2003) *mbéjǐ* is labelled as ‘adjective’ with the meaning ‘1’ available (of things) 2. Present’. Hutchison (1981:168) calls it nonverbal predicate to affirm the existence of a person or thing. He adds: ‘when preceded by a locative adverbial expression [...] may also be used to locate objects and people.’ The nonverbal negative predicate is simply *bâ*.

Mbéjǐ and *mbézái* are postpositioned (like the marker of negation *bâ*) to the whole clause, which is their scope and employed as marker of existence with the meaning ‘there is, there are.’

As in section 3.2., the *verb emphasis past* form obviously underwent grammaticalization: *mbéjǐ* and *mbézái* look like 3SG/PL VEP of a class II verb in Kanuri which may be defunct, because it is only existent in the 3SG and PL form, no other forms of a verbal paradigm can be identified. There is no verb **mbe-* denoting existence in Kanuri, though Hutchison indicates that a fully inflected verb *mbé-* is present in the Manga dialect spoken in Niger (Hutchison 1981:169), which could not yet be verified^{xiii}.

Other Saharan languages have a verb of existence: showing a similarity to Kanembu dialects *diyé*: In Beria (Jakobi and Crass 2004:251) one irregular class I verb “to be” exists: “être” *ī* (VC I, 3.sg, irrég.). Other verbs of existence in different connotation are: “être là, exister” *ɟɪ́* (VC I, 3s. irrég.), VN *ɛɪnā* (= existence), “être là à l’avenir” *sɪ́* (VC I, 3.sg, irrég.) “être avec” *bɛɪ́* (VC I, 3.sg, irrég.)

Lukas (1953) gives the following forms in Tubu: “to be” *cek*, *kik*; LeCœur and LeCœur (1956) who differentiate between the dialects Teda and Daza (both constituting “Tubu”) list the following forms: “être, exister” Teda: *tiyi*, Daza: *ye*, *ce*, *yeki*.^{xiv}

Bondarev (2005:2) attests a verb of existence *sik* “to be” in manuscripts written in “old Kanembu”, resembling the forms given for Daza. This finding is especially interesting since “old Kanembu” is believed to be the parent language of modern Kanuri as well (cf. footnote 3 in this paper). Bondarev (2010a:5):

- (10) At-gen kistye thīkīkam allaha-rodaks-ro
 DEM-LOC awareness.SJexistpersonAlla.IO fear.3SG.CNV-IO
 ‘There truly is a lesson for anyone who stands in awe of God’

In recent Kanuri no verb “to be” seems to exist, and *mbé-* does not show a similarity to the forms in the Saharan languages.

Hutchison (1981:169) provides examples for the nonverbal predicate:

- (11) Áli fáto-n Mbéji wá? Aâ shí mbéjǐ
 Ali house-LOC there.is question.yes 3SG there.is
 particle

“Is Ali at home? Yes, he is there.”

The existential marker *mbéjǐ* receives the notion of “to have” in Kanuri, with the paraphrastic construction *ná* “place” plus a possessive suffix, e.g. Hutchison (1981:169):

- (12) nâ-nzá-n kungína mbéjǐ
 place-3SG.POSS-LOC money there.is
 “He has money.”

We can assume the following steps of grammaticalization for *mbéjǐ* in Kanuri, which were set up for the case of *n (gin)*: (cf. Ebert 1991, referred by Crass 2002):

1. Reduction of morphological marking,
2. Particle,
3. Loss of verb base.

In Kanembu, there is no existential marker or particle of the form *mbéjǐ*, but only its counterpart *diyé*, thus resembling the Saharan morphemes above. *Diyé* is also used in enumerations. The following example is recorded from Bol in 2010:

- (13) Âa, káalma-dá ye diyé, mändəlma ye diyé,
 Yes blacksmith-DEF also DM tanner also DM

Aa	kakəlma	bánu kəyaa-só, kaalawo	kənyigə- kərnīə.
		-só,	só,
Yes	blacksmith	hoe- spear-PL black- PL smithing	arrow-PL arrow

“Yes the blacksmith is also there, tanner is there, blacksmith of the hoe is there, of spear, blacksmithing like that of arrow, arrow (*kərnīə*) this is (*kənyigə*) [in Bol].”

Löhr (2007) discusses the various functions of *diyé* and the fact of its non-existence in the previous literature on (or in) Kanuri, except Cyffer and Hutchison (1990:57), who refer to *diyé* as ‘adv. surely, entirely, only.’ *Diyé* follows the focussed constituent, which can be a noun, a nominal phrase, a prepositional phrase, a verbal phrase, or the whole sentence. *Diyé* fulfils several functions: it can be used as term focus marker as well as discourse marker. This can be verified since Kanuri data from natural discourse are available (e.g. Löhr 2006).

4. The adverb *duwô*

Duwô stands separately because of its unclear origin – either from a nominal or from a verbal source. *Duwô* plays a significant role as multifunctional marker in Kanuri grammar and has been recognized since the first descriptions of Kanuri, although differences of the function and the etymology of *duwô* are manifest.

In Koelle’s grammar (1854), *dúgô* has been classified as adverb, meaning ‘before, previously, first’. Ellison (1937:98) indicates ‘Notes on the adverb *dùgô* (Commonly heard variations are *dùgónò* and *dùgónyi*).’ He states: ‘It is really an adverb, not a conjunction’ (ibid.). Lukas (1937:132) observed a frequent use as adverb, sentence and clause connector. *Dugô* “first” is found in six sections of his grammar (pp. 130, 132, 142, 144, 165) as adverb “first, then, only, in spite of”; postposition “after”, simple conjunction “but”, relative clauses, temporal clauses “when, as, ...” at the beginning of a clause “until” and concessive clauses “although”, and he describes the function as

subordinator (1937:162). Lukas states (1937:132): ‘Whilst originally it belongs to the main sentence, it is drawn as a conjunction into the dependent clause.’ The Kanuri realization as *dugô* is common in older sources, today it has weakened to the form *duwô*.

Hutchison (1981:303f.) describes various functions of *duwô*: a subordinator in concessive clauses, marking state and setting in a scene, marking object, marking contradiction, marking conjuncts in narrative contexts, a noun phrase status marker, marking adverbials and adverbial clauses subordinated by the associative. Cyffer (1998) classifies *duwô* as subordinator with temporal meaning through semantic extension from adverb “first”. In their dictionary, Cyffer and Hutchison (1990) refer to *duwô* as particle, used as conjunction “before, although”. Ziegelmeyer (2008:39) expanding his previous findings (cf. Ziegelmeyer 1999) add to the multifunctional use the expression of the relation of “simultaneity duration”. *Duwô* always occurs in the dependant clause and has a referential function; therefore, it is not used conversation-initial.

Schuh (2011:147) explains: ‘It is difficult to circumscribe the meaning/function of *dùwo*. [...] As a clausal conjunction, its base meaning is the completion/termination of an event before the beginning of another event, often calling for a translation “first.”’ *Duwô* is confirmed to be borrowed from Kanuri by neighbouring West Chadic languages of Northern Nigeria approximately in the 19th century (Schuh 2011:147).

At first glance, *duwô* can be considered as a verbal form, i.e. 3SG noun emphasis past: *duwô*, with alternate forms *duwônyí* and *duwônó*. However, a likely verb class II verbal root *du-* as source would give Kanuri forms like *duwóno* (3SG.PAST) and *duzônyí* (3SG.NEG.COMPL). Divergent tone patterns in *duwônó* and *duwônyí* respectively still do not contradict a hypothesis of the verbal origin of *duwô*, since e.g. Hutchison (1975) and Ellison (1937) mark different tone patterns, e.g. *dugônò* and *dugônyì*; tonal differences between dialects are known in many languages.

Hutchison (1975:68), devoting a full paper to *duwô* and its Hausa counterpart *tukuná*, finds it possible that they represent

a case of syntactic borrowing that crosses language families, coming probably from some outside language source, and which has been incorporated into the grammars of these languages [i.e. Hausa and Kanuri] at various periods over time. Hutchison (1975:68) concludes that ‘it is clear that the *tukuna/duwo* syndrome is quite common to languages on this area and cites the Shuwa Arab equivalent *duko*.’ The morphological similarity is apparent:

(14)Hausa (Afroasiatic)	t	ù	k	ù	n	á	>	tùkùná
Kanuri (Nilosaharan)	d	u	g / w	ô	(nyí)		>	dugô> duwô
Fulfulde(Niger- Congo)	t	a	w	o	n		>	tawon

The fact that it is widespread gives no hints to a nominal or verbal origin. However, Dmitry Bondarev vs (p.c.) data on 17th century Old Kanembu spot a noun *dūgō* “deed”. Therefore, we have to consider a case of a grammaticalized noun developing into an adverb and adopting other grammatical functions in the course of time. One of the rare source on the Eastern Kanembu varieties is Lukas (1931) who notes in the Kaidi-Kanembu variety *duo* meaning “first, until”.

Own recent field research data on Kanembu dialects spoken in Niger and Chad reveal a cognate form *duóor* – with vowel harmony processes and the palatal glide –*dóyo* and further alternative realizations, e.g. *duó*, *doyó*, *doó*, *doa*.

From a noun like *dugo* it is simple to trace a verbal source in Kanuri and apply nominalizing rules, e.g. the verbal noun suffix –*o*.

The following Kanuri examples from Lukas (1937) and Hutchison (1981) are in contrast with ex. 17 from Kanembu. The recent use of *duwô* in the Kanuri and Kanembu dialects show divergent developments.

- (15) kambígə̀ sadîn dugô
 Fight do.3SG.IMP then
 ‘Whilst they were quarrelling’ (Lukas 1937:163)

(16) shí rô-à dugô
3.SG life-ASS then

‘As long as he is alive’ (Lukas 1937:163)

Ex. 17 on Bol contests Hutchison’s statement (1975:66), that *duwô* cannot appear sentence- or conversation-initially because of its referential function.

(17) Duwô kərmajamân ísə nyáma kəlí- badi-
be jina,...
then now season come.3SG.SEQ yield.of. fresh- begin-
crops GEN 3SG.PERF

‘But now as the time for dry season farming has come...’
(Löhr 2011 ms.)

Hutchison (1981:303f.), admitting that *duwô* is a challenge in language description of Kanuri, assembles the various functions of the adverbial adjunct as being nominal and adverbial constituents, subordinate clauses, and even whole sentences. The meaning of *duwô* in translation is always a reflex of the syntactic environment in which it occurs.

The following examples (18-21) are taken from Hutchison (1981:303-308) (1), are juxtaposed with data from Bol (2), collected in 2010.

(18) Hutchison (1981:304)

(1)	dàlîl	-----	kàsúdù	ádə`wú-
	dùwô,		gónə́mmà	rògùllé!
(2)	-----	awó nyi-ro	kasidi	ádə wú-ro
	-----		gonə́mma	gullé
	reason	thing 2SG-10	laughter	this 1SG-10
	though		take.2SG.PERF	tell.2SG.IMP

‘The reason that makes you laugh, tell me!’

(19)	shí	Ból-lan	duwô	ráwa-	Máo	bawo-
(1)				nzə́	-lan	wóno
(2)	tí-ye	Bul-lan	duó	dí-nga	Mou	bayi-nó
					-n	
	3SG-AM	Bol-LOC	then	father-	Mao	die.3SG.P
				3SG.POSS	-LOC	AST

‘He was in Bol though when his uncle died in Mao.’

- (20) awó díkə́'na-bâ **duwô** cimbarə-ʼk-o
 (1)
 (2) awó di-ki-na-bo **dò'** tɛmbarə-k-o
 thing do-1SG-PERF-NEG then be.tired-1SG-NEP

'Though I have not done anything I am tired.'

Examples 21 and 22 were elicited with speakers of Bol: 'He sleeps although he should work^{xv}'

- (21) Ti bə́'-n-j-i let-c-í **doó** kidé-i tər wa-í
 3SG.lay.down-AUX- sleep- then work- ID refuse-
 3SG-IMPF 3SG-IMPF AM 3SG-IMPF

'He lies down and sleeps first - he refuses the work.'

In most Kanuri dialects, *ádəgà'í duwô* 'it is like this, thus' is a fixed phrase; however in Bol other constructions are used. The data that Hutchison collected in his grammar are merged from the two dialects Yerwa and Manga.

(22) Hutchison (1981:304)

Hutchison: ádə̀'ga'i dùwô mágə̀ sə̀-tí
 thus week 3SG-reach.IMPF

Bol: ádə̀yì dì-ró^{xvi} máu-rò dò-yí
 thus then week-ADV live-3SG.IMPF

'It was that way though until a week passed.'

The following examples show a correlation of the use of *hár* in western Kanuri dialects with the use of *doyo* in Eastern Kanuri/Kanembu. *Hár* is a well-known feature long spread in the Western part of Lake Chad but not yet at its breakthrough in Chad varieties. The construction with *hár* is replaced in Bol with *duwo/doyo* in the following example. Examples were taken from Hutchison (1981) and elicited with speakers of Tumari and Bol.

- (23) Kanuri cotro sə- **hár** titimamazəwotinrowal-wono
 Y/M liina
 Tum. Kanuri ngəlamaro ci- (**hár**) njartima --- Manayin
 liina

Bol	Kanuri	ngudundo	ci-	doyo	titimir	ngaicíro	wal-jino
			lina				tell-3SG- IMPF
	Kanuri	well	3SG-		story		return-
			learn-				3SG-PAST
			PERF				

‘He speaks Kanuri very well, he even can tell stories.’

Another use of *duwô* in Bol is found in imperative constructions.

- (24) Diyé **dué** Kíde áðə kû da dé!
do-2SG then work DEM today verb do.IMP
‘You have to do this work today!’

The observation was made that recently the Western Kanuri dialects seem to start to replace some constructions with the postposition *duwô* by a temporal preposition *hár* in clause-initial position. As is known, *hár* has entered Kanuri grammar from Arabic long ago due to a real, i.e. Hausa influence (cf. Hutchison 1981, Skinner 1996, Ziegelmeyer 2008). Still we find the postposition *duwô* in several different constructions.

This contact-induced change is visible in a modification of the syntactic structures. Contrarily, the Eastern Kanembu dialects maintain a form like *doyo*; and even allocate additional functions to this clausal conjunction. Being a status marker, end-of-clause-marker, *duwô* cannot occur independently. It may perform an emphatic, focussing or topicalizing function. The variety of translations to which *duwô* lends itself in English are not due to there being different lexical items *duwô*, but rather to the manner in which the different tense/aspects of Kanuri interact with the syntax of *duwô*.

The findings of Schuh (2011), that Kanuri borrowed function words into Chadic languages of Yobe State, NE Nigeria (i.e. Bade, Ngizim, Bole) show the significance that Kanuri had as lingua franca for many years. In the case of the clause final subordinator *duwô*, the origin cannot be detected doubtlessly; however, a nominal source is more likely.

5. Summary

The paper aims at a contrastive analysis of some grammaticalized forms in the Kanuri-Kanembu dialect cluster. The starting point was a line of argument for frozen verbal forms in Kanuri. A challenge of the traditional view emerged because some previous language descriptions considered only parts of the dialect puzzle, i.e. while focusing on the Anglophone region, and especially on the Yerwa dialect spoken in Maiduguri, most of the dialects identified in Niger and Chad remained unnoticed.

The verbal forms of Kanuri, which show different stages of the processes of grammaticalization, have been presented. The process is witness of a language change, which takes place gradually in small steps rather than great leaps. This is the reason why we do find forms representing different stages of the one or other process and in some cases discussion may arise, whether the terms assigned to them are already appropriate. From a more theoretical angle: Do we instead have to talk about covert stages like “reanalysis” which Langacker (1977:58, cited in Brinton and Traugott 2005:7) introduced? As covert change he defined a ‘change in the structure of an expression or class of expressions that does not involve any immediate or intrinsic modification of its surface manifestation^{xvii}’. Reanalysis is not restricted to morphosyntax but can be observed in other parts of grammar as well, e.g. when a lexeme develops new polysemies (e.g., silly “blessed, innocent” > “foolish”), it has undergone semantic reanalysis.

In this light the scenario of Serzisko (1987:88f) becomes interesting: How many channels can be assumed? Should we add a pragmatic one for the lexicalisation of particles or are these processes sufficiently described with the term pragmatization? In Heine and Reh (1984) a distinction is drawn between the evolution of lexical and grammatical morphemes on the one hand and syntactic and pragmatic structures on the other which sounds reasonable.

The interesting fact in Kanuri is that many verbal forms which underwent the one or other process do this in a special form; in the so-called verb emphasis past, which is morphologically the basic perfective form in other Saharan languages. This TAM has been “reanalysed” in Kanuri as a focus-sensitive form and the TAM “Perfect” took over the unmarked function in contemporary language.

It seems that verbal forms are a rich source for grammaticalization and also lexicalization in Kanuri. Some of the forms are not widespread, which is a well-known fact in many languages. Comparison with other Saharan languages, not only the dialectal forms, as well as parallel forms in Kanuri point to the time depth of the processes described. They can be interpreted as mirror of “frozen” language change in progress.

What seems common in ‘Kanuri,’ i.e. the Western dialects, may not have the same significance in Eastern dialects. More research is needed in the Eastern Kanembu dialects in Niger and Chad to verify some hypotheses and put them on more solid ground. However, we have seen that a dialect continuum is able to handle different developments or processes of a single phenomenon, and still can be considered a continuum of one language.

Abbreviations

AA	Additive adjunct	CNV	Converb	DIR	Marker of direction	
ADV	Adverbial	DEM	Demonstrative	DO	Direct object	
	operator					
AM	Agent marker	DEP	Dependant	DSM	Differential	subject
		FUT	Future		marking	
ASSOC	Associative	DEP	Dependant	EMPH	Emphasis marker	
		PAST	Past			
AUX	Auxiliary	DET	Determiner	FOC	Focus	
FUT	Future tense	ID	Ideophone	NEG.COMPL	Negative completive	
GEN	Genitive marker	LM	Lexical	NEG.IMPERF	Negative imperfective	
			marker			
IMPF	Imperfective	LOC	Locative suffix	NEP	Noun emphasis past	
IO	Indirect object	NEG	Negative	PART	Participle	
PASS	Passive/reflexive	PERF	Perfect	S/SG	Singular	

PAST	Past tense	POSS	Possessive	SEQ	Sequential
P/Pl	Plural	PRF	Perfective	SJ	Subject marker
SUB	Subordinator	TAG	Tag question marker	TAM	Tense/aspect mood Marker
VC	Verb class	VEP	Verb emphasis past	VN	Verbal noun
VR	Verbal root				

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ⁱⁱThe other Saharan languages of the western branch, Teda and Daza, are spoken in Niger and Chad, the Eastern Saharan language, Beria (Zaghawa), in the Republic of Chad and Sudan. Kanuri has SOV constituent order and is

a polysynthetic language with a complex verbal morphology and extreme phonological weakening processes.

ⁱⁱⁱBondarev (2013:294): 'With the development of Qur'anic studies in the ancient Islamic Kanem kingdom situated on the north-east of Lake Chad (the thirteenth to fourteenth centuries), Kanembu (*Kanem-bu*: 'the Kanem people') became the accepted language of Qur'anic interpretation, evolving into a codified technical language known as Old Kanembu. It has survived in written attestations in the commentaries to the Qur'an (manuscripts of the 16th to early 19th century) and, as a modernized variety known as Tarjumo, in the network of Islamic scholars (North-East Nigeria) who speak Kanuri – a descendant of Old Kanembu.'

^{iv}Kanuri is the language, which diverged most from the common Saharan stock, possibly due to manifold contacts with other, predominantly Chadic, languages (e.g. Cyffer 1998, Löhr 2009).

^vThe form *ngin* consists of the verb root *n-* 'say', plus 1SG *-k-* (voiced to *-g-*) and the imperfect suffix *-in*.

^{vi}Kanuri has synchronically two verb classes (VC I and II) which are distinguished by their morphological set-up, the position of the subject morphemes and the behaviour of the 3rd person subject morpheme. Class I is a closed class and constituted by approx. 150 verbs, while verb class II is open and productive. Since Kanuri has no 'infinitive', verbs are cited in the 1SG and 3SG imperfect, which indicates the class they belong to.

^{vii}Kanuri as all other Saharan languages is a tone language. High tone is indicated with an acute accent (e.g. *á*), low tone is unmarked (except in quotations of examples, when e.g. Hutchison mark it), falling tone with circumflex (*â*), and the rising tone with hacek (*ǎ*). Angled brackets indicate graphic representations. In Old Kanembu data, a macron (̄) above the vowel represents the so-called 'weak' letters used in Classical Arabic for representation of long vowels, but used for high and falling tone in Old Kanembu.

^{viii}The subject morpheme of the 3SG/PL is shifted when a prefixed TAM or medium is applied.

^{ix}A look at the eastern dialects shows a variety of forms. E.g. the Yerwa form *da-y-áda* stop-PAST-3PL-PAST 'they stopped' is realized in Manga: *da-y-éera*, Mowar: *da-y-éino*, Tumari: *da-g-áino*. Bondarev (p.c.) mentions Old Kanembu (I) : <*da-g-ēdā*>, Old Kanembu (II) : <*da-j-aino*>, cf. also Hutchison (2000:177f).

^x*Shikenan* is borrowed as discourse marker from Chadic Hausa, the lingua franca of Northern Nigeria.

^{xi}'Most Kanuri loanwords came into Chadic languages before Kanuri underwent a number of major sound changes.' (Schuh 2011:140)

^{xii}Standard Kanuri has no other verb of existence, however the verb *dagákin* 'remain, live, stay' can be used to denote existence as well. Another type of nonverbal existence is expressed by the particle *ngô* – 'here', 'here it is,' and its pluralic counterpart *tuwo* 'there'.

^{xiii}Georg Ziegelmeyer (p.c.) – referring to Manga -: "I often could hear a perfect form like *mbenna* in Gashua."

^{xiv}The negative forms in Tubu are: ‘not to be’ *bek*, ‘not exist’: *tugo, yugo, tugonto* and in Daza: *yei, bei, yeki*.

^{xv}cf. different dialect Tumari: *Niyâ-nga cídacída amamá létcin* (plan-his work.VN but he.sleeps)

^{xvi}cf. the same sentence in Tumari dialect: *ádiye diro máu cidín*. The directional postposition–ro is used instead.

^{xvii}From this perspective, reanalysis involves: (a) change in constituency, or what goes with what (e.g., change in morphological bracketing of [a] napron> [an] apron), (b) a change in category labels (e.g., main verb > auxiliary), (c) boundary loss (e.g., be going to>gonna).

Koorete conditional constructions

Lydia Hoeft, SIL Ethiopia

1. Introduction

Koorete is an Afro-Asiatic language spoken by roughly 160.000ⁱ speakers in Southern Ethiopia. According to (Fleming 1976), it belongs to the East-Ometo group of Omotic languages. This paper focuses on Koorete conditional constructions and is mainly intended to be a descriptive work. While presenting original language data, this analysis will contribute to a deeper understanding of Omotic languages.

The term “conditional” is used in its linguistic sense as a type of complex sentence with the internal structure: if ***p*** (protasis), (then) ***q*** (apodosis). The protasis is typically a dependent clause and the apodosis a main or independent clause.

This study has three parts. In the first and main part, the forms and features Koorete employs for marking conditionals will be examined: affixes, order of constituents, verb forms in each constituent clause and other relevant grammatical features. Each suffix participating in conditional constructions will be treated in individual sub-sections.

On the basis of these grammatical features, the second part will attempt to establish parameters relevant for differentiating types of conditionals in Koorete. I will show how conditional semantic subtypes, such as predictive, hypothetical, counterfactual, etc. are reflected by the different grammatical markings in Koorete. The study will conclude in the third part with a summary of the findings, pointing out some special characteristics of conditionals in Koorete and suggesting avenues for further research.

Aspect is central to the Koorete verb system and is marked closer to the root than tense, often causing changes in the verb stem. I shall refer to these inflected stems as the infinitive stem (INF), the imperfective stem (IPV) and the perfective stem (PFV). The following table illustrates these changes:

Table 26.1: Perfective and imperfective verb stems

English gloss	INF stem	IPV stem (INF stem + IPV marker <i>g</i>)	PFV stem (INF stem + PFV marker <i>d</i>)
Go	<i>ham-</i>	<i>hang-</i>	<i>hand-</i>
Think	<i>mats-</i>	<i>mats-</i>	<i>mass-</i>
Take	<i>ep-</i>	<i>ekk-</i>	<i>ett-</i>
Drink	<i>ush-</i>	<i>ush-</i>	<i>ussh-</i>

For a fuller discussion of aspect and tense marking in Koorete see Binyam (2010) and Hayward (1982).

2. Grammatical features of Koorete conditionals

There are four suffixes that participate in conditional constructions. In this section, each is treated in a subsection. The verb forms in the protases and apodoses will be discussed as well as other features relevant to signalling conditional. I shall refer to the semantic functions of the various formal types using terms such as predictive, non-predictive, etc. as outlined by Dancygier in her work on conditionals and prediction (Dancygier 1998).

A. Constructions with *-ete*

The suffix *-ete* can encode either a conditional or temporal protasis. In other words, *-ete* marked clauses do not distinguish between “if” and “when”ⁱⁱ. The infinitive stem of the verb serves as the base for *-ete*.

A.1. Temporal use of *-ete*

Two examples illustrate the use of *-ete* with a temporal sense. Example (1) is from a traditional story. An elephant prepares a feast and wants to invite the spider to it. Since the date has not yet been set, he gives one end of a rope to the spider and tells her that she should come to his house when he pulls on the rope. The stem final C of the verb in the main clause is geminated to express a polite request.

- (1) *niya es-u-na ta gooch-ete taa-so ne yoww-e*
 2SG.ACC 3M.SG- 1SG. pull.INF- 1SG.ACC- 2SG.SBJ come.JUS2.-
 TRV-INS SBJ CND₁ LOC FVC

“When I pull you by it, may you please come to my home?”

Example (1) is from another traditional story. A younger brother leads a dissipated life. Whenever he comes home drunk and throws up, his older brother cleans it up. The temporal relationship of the constituents is in focus here. The repetitiveness of the action is indicated by the past imperfective of the final verb.

- (2) *zawa yood-i e coosh-ete*
 house come.PFV-CVB₁ 3M.SG vomit.INF-CND₁
ye anguss-i e uc-i-cha
 that older.brother-SBJ 3M.SG wipe. IPV-TRV-PST

“Having come home, when/whenever he threw up, his older brother cleaned it up”

We have seen how *-ete* can signal a temporal relation between constituents. In the following section I will show how it is also employed to mark a conditional protasis.

A.2. Conditional use of *-ete*

The following example is from a traditional story that sets out to explain why spirits come upon human beings. The spirit mother leaves her daughter among humans that they should watch her while she herself goes off on a journey. The people do not want to watch over the daughter and so they discuss what measure will make the daughter beg her mother not to be left with them again. As they discuss what to do, they say the following:

- (3) *nu dur-ete i gara gel-u-wa-s-so*
 1PL beat.INF-CND₁ 3F.SG.POSS on enter.INF-TRV-NEG-
 3M.SG-FOC₂

“If we (only) beat (her), it makes no impression on her (lit.: it does not enter her).”

They consider beating too light a measure for achieving their goal, and in the end opt for killing her. The verb of the apodosis is imperfective in aspect and the construction exemplifies a non-predictive conditional because what is stated in the apodosis (that she will not understand) is not the direct result of the condition (beating her).

The next example is taken from a discussion about the merits of living in the highlands (versus lowlands) and illustrates a predictive use of *-ete*. The person who prefers the lowlands says:

- (4) *gadha ne hodh-ete-ni*
 lowlan 2SG.SBJ descend.INF-CND₁-
 d ADD
ne wodunte-i be garakos-a-ko e kos-e
 2SG. riches-SBJ refl on add.INF-CVB₂- 3M.SGadd.IPV-FVC
 POSS FOC

“If you descend to the lowland, your riches will increase”.

Note here that following *-ete*, the additive suffix *-ni* is added, indicating that this argument is an addition to preceding ones.

As the following example shows, the apodosis can have an imperative as the final verb. One story tells of a boy who enters a shop and sees an item that used to be his. The shop owner tells him:

- (5) *eeh-ete woong-u-wa*
 love.INF-CND₁ buy.IPV-TRV-IMP
 “If (you) like (it), buy (it)!”

Because both clauses have the same subject, the verb of the protasis does not have a subject marker. This is a general feature of all same subject clauses and is not restricted to conditional constructions.

A conditional can be in the form of a question, as seen in the next example. A man owns an ox, and it develops so incredibly well that people are surprised and wonder what is fed to the ox to achieve this result.

- (6) *ha ade-i amuna e muu-s-ete*
 this man-SBJ what 3M.SG eat.INF-CAUS-CND1
ha e maido-i yeidi e mall-e
 this 3M.SG. ox-SBJ like.this 3M.SG.SBJ become.fat.IPV-
 POSS FVC
 “What is it that when the man feeds it to his oxen he (the oxen) becomes so fat?”

While the object argument of the verb in the protasis is the focus of the interrogative, the apodosis lacks a focus marker. As a declarative statement, it would have the following form:

- (7) *ha ade-i maatae muu-s-ete*
 this man-SBJ grass 3M.SG eat.INF-CAUS-CND1
ha e maido-i yeidi-ko e mall-e
 this 3M.SG.POSS ox-SBJ like.this- 3M.SG.SBJ become.fat.IPV-
 FOC FVC
 “If/ when this man feeds grass, this his ox becomes fat like this.”

In the protasis, the interrogative has been replaced with an expressed object. In the apodosis, a focus marker is suffixed to the adverb. The verbs of both remain unchanged.

An interrogative suffix can also be added to the verb of the protasis after the conditional suffix.

- (8) *an godo nu gad-ete-wu*
 which place 1PL put.down.INF-CND1-Q
kaiso-i ekk-u-wa-aane

thief-SBJ take.IPV-TRV-NEG-SBJV

“Where (is the place that) if we place (it) there, a thief would not steal (it)?”

In the above example, a locative is preceded by an interrogative pronoun, and an interrogative suffix is attached to the conditional verb in the dependent clause. The verb of the main clause is imperfective with a negative suffix followed by a subjunctive marker *-aane*. The subjunctive here has the effect of raising the implication that there is no place from where a thief will not steal.

In summary, while *-ete* can encode past or future events in its temporal function, in its conditional use this has not been observed. Since the suffix is attached to one particular verb stem, the infinitive, no variation of verb tense has been observed in the protasis. The apodosis shows more variety. Present declarative, both affirmative and negative, imperative, jussive and subjunctive markers have been observed. Constructions with *-ete* encode predictive as well as non-predictive conditionals.

In the following section we will analyse the conditional marker *-’aiko* that uses the imperfective converb as its base.

B. Constructions with *-’aiko*ⁱⁱⁱ

A common strategy employed in marking a conditional protasis in Koorete is suffixing *-’aiko* to the imperfective converb of a verb. The imperfective converb is formed by attaching the vowel *-a* or *-o* to the infinitive stem. The choice of final vowel is lexically determined. These forms, e.g. *hama*, “go”, *yoota* “come”, *peisho* “spend the day”, are similar to what is traditionally called a converb (a verb form derived from the perfective stem with a final vowel) in that several of them can follow one another to express a sequence of events. While a string of perfective converbs can have any finite verb as the final verb, strings of imperfective converbs are concluded with the verb “say”: *Hama e hido*. “He went. (lit.: Go he said.)”

The conditional suffix *-‘aiko* has an initial glottal stop which is unusual for a suffix. Thus; the question arises whether it should be considered a separate word. However, for the following reasons I will not consider it a separate word:

1. It has to follow directly after the verb stem; nothing can be inserted in between;

2. There is no other occurrence where it appears on its own (other postpositions function almost like nouns, can be inflected, and can occur in different positions);

3. It forms a phonological unit with the verb stem, and the resulting structure exhibits only one stressed syllable.

This suffix is the only one observed with an initial glottal stop. There is a verb *aike* “hold” that is similar in form to this suffix and it could be argued that the conditional is a grammaticalized form derived from *aike*. (Binyam 2010:152)^{iv} treats the construction with *aike* as a complex verbal phrase, writing the suffix separately from the base verb. However, I would suggest that the grammaticalization process has progressed even further, in that the original verb has lost its semantic content and its independent status. For these reasons I shall treat it as a suffix.

The following example demonstrates the use of *-‘aiko* in a non-predictive conditional. A man promised his only cow as a gift to the king. When he informs his wife that the officials of the king will come tomorrow to take away the cow, the wife instructs her husband to be lying in the ashes of the fire, pretending to be mentally deranged and tells him:

(9) *niya u zeer-us-a-‘aiko*

2SG.ACC 3PL.SBJ talk.INF-CAUS-CVB₂-CND₂

neni zeerd-opp-u-na tamba-ko zeer-ara

2SG.SBJ talk.PFV-NEG.IMP- 1SG.ACC-FOC

talk.INF-

TRV-SG

RL.FUT.SBJ

“If they talk to you, don’t answer! The one who will talk is me!”

The suffix-*'aiko* is also used in predictive constructions as the following.

- Here a speaker is admonishing people at a funeral. He is addressing tensions in the society and wants to offer them a motivation for discontinuing their differences. The motivation for change is the predicted negative consequence if the divisive attitude and actions continue. By adding the contrastive focus marker *-ma* to the verb of the protasis, he puts special stress on the fact that he disapproves of such behaviour. The main verb in the apodosis is a negative existential. Though the final vowel is *o* which normally appears with perfective verbs to signal past, the existential verb is present in tense.

(11) *bidzi zeere-i yes-a-'aiko ye es-u-na aade-ko hid-i*
 one matter- exist.INF- that 3M.SG- truth-FOC say.PF

	SBJ	CVB ₂ -CND ₂	TRV-INS	V-CVB ₁
u	hiy-oro-s-a	maho	hi	miine
3PL.SBJ	say.INF-RL.FUT-	make.INF-	2PL.SBJ AUX.PSBL	
	NMLZ-ACC	CVB ₂		

“If there is a matter/point, you may convince them with that. (lit.: ..., you may make them say ‘It is true’ with it.)’

In this example, the complex verbal phrase of the main clause consists of an imperfective converb followed by the auxiliary *miine* “may”. This auxiliary also occurs in clauses other than conditionals. The subject-clitic may appear either directly before the auxiliary or before the converb. The protasis is a comment about one of the arguments of the main verb (the means to convince) and thus is an example of a “speech act conditional” (Dancygier 1998:89).

Example (12) shows the use of *-aiko* together with an interrogative in the apodosis. A man is woken up from his sleep in the middle of the night by gun shots. As he grabs his own gun, he says:

- (12) **toorae maaq-o-aiko haga-a ta att-e**
 war 3M.SG be.INF-CVB₂- excl-Q 1SG remain.IPV-FVC
 CND₂

“If it is war, will I survive?”

The verb in the protasis is an imperfective converb. The interrogative is marked in the apodosis on the exclamation *haga*, which is an expression of surprise.

Following *-aiko* in the protasis, the apodosis may have a nominal with a focus marker as predicate.

- (13) **saha oo’oyne birre-i yes-a-aiko**
 land or money-SBJ exist.INF-CVB₂-CND₂
ha ne keem-it-a zal’-i ...
 this 2SG.POSS possession-PL-ACC sell.PFV-CVB₁
saha woom-e-i modhe-ko

land.ACC buy.INF-FVC- good-FOC
 SBJ

“If there is land or money, selling your possessions ...and buying land is good.”

In this non-predictive conditional, the apodosis expresses a positive evaluation of the action taken under the condition expressed in the protasis. In this context of persuading people to build their houses in areas not threatened by landslides, the affirmative declarative of the main verb functions as a polite command or exhortation.

In summary, we have observed that *-‘aiko* is always attached to the imperfective converb form of the protasis. While the main verb of the apodosis can be of various forms and moods (e.g. declarative, interrogative, imperative), they are all of imperfective aspect and present tense; no past tense has been observed. This seems to be a restriction inherent in the conditional suffix *-‘aiko*, since it never appears in hypothetical conditionals.

There is another suffix frequently used to signal conditional constructions, which is suffixed to a perfective verb stem; this is examined in the next section.

C. Constructions with *-ako*

In this section, the use of the conditional suffix *-ako* which attaches to the perfective verb stem is examined.

The following example is taken from a speech exhorting someone to build on land safe from landslides. The speaker tells his listener to buy land in a certain area so that he will stay out of future trouble.

- (14) *se bade-na saha ne woond-ako*
 that side-INS land 2SG.SBJ buy.PFV-CND3
zheete-apa att-o-ko ne att-e
 trouble-ABL remain.INF- 2SG.SBJ remain.IPV-FVC
 CVB2-FOC

‘If you were to buy land from that side, you will be spared

from trouble.'

The verb stem in the protasis is marked for perfective though it refers to an event that has not (yet) been realized. Together with the conditional marker *-ako* it functions as a polite exhortation. The present imperfective of the main verb ties the whole statement to reality with a high expectation of the conclusion being realized.

The focus marker can be suffixed to the conditional as shown in the next example.

- (15) *ax-i gadha e yess-ako-ko e bish-e*
person-lowland 3M.SG live.PFV-CND₃- 3M.SG beneficial.IPV-
SBJ FOC FVC
"If a person lives in the lowlands that will be beneficial for him."

While conditional constructions with *-aiko* or *-ete* do not allow past tense in the apodosis, *-ako* does allow for that combination. Example (15) will illustrate this. One friend tells another that it would be good for him to go to the market.

- (16) *gadhesane hand-ako modhe-ko e maaq-i-cha*
market 2SG.SBJ go.PFV- good-FOC 3M.SG.be.INF-TRV-
CND₃ SBJ PST
"If you were to go to the market, it would be good."

The verb in the apodosis is a past existential. Here we observe what Dancygier calls 'back shifting' (Dancygier 1998:37). Though the verb is past in tense, it refers to something that at the time of the speech event has not yet taken place. Hypothetical statements are of two kinds: those that might still be realized and those that are counterfactual. The combination of perfective aspect in the protasis and past tense in the apodosis indicates that example (16) is hypothetical. However, without further knowledge of the context, it is not clear whether this is something that could still take place or whether it is counterfactual.

This same ambiguity is also demonstrated in the next example that has a past imperfective as the main verb. The speaker is waiting for somebody to come, and his own going to town depends on the other's arrival.

- (17) *esi yood-ako katama-ko ta hang-i-cha*
 3M.SG. come.PFV- CND₃ town-FOC 1SG.SBJ go.IPV-TRV-PST
 SBJ
 "If he were to come, I would go to the market."

While the imperfective past form of the final verb in the apodosis indicates the sentence is hypothetical, from knowing only this statement, no conclusion can be drawn as to it being counterfactual or not.

There are two ways that such statements can be disambiguated. One possibility is to use a past temporal adverb. In the following example, a speaker states his regret of not having bought certain clothes.

- (18) *zine ta hand-ako ye maa'o*
 Yesterday 1SG.SBJ go.PFV- CND₃ that clothes
woom-a-ko ta woong-i-cha
 buy.INF-CVB₂-FOC 1SG.SBJ buy.IPV-TRV-PST
 "If I had gone yesterday, I would have bought those clothes"

Example (18) has the same grammatical structure as example (17), except with the addition of a past temporal adverb *zine* "yesterday" in the protasis. This anchors the event discussed at a point prior to the speech event and brings out its counter factuality.

The other possibility is to use a subjunctive suffix in the apodosis. In the following example, a farmer is speaking about his farm-work and expresses his distress about the failure of the rains. The rains did not come and so he was not able to sow his seed.

- (19) *garda agunna ira-i butt-ako*
 last month rain-SBJ beat.PFV- CND₃
ta aila ail-a-ko ta ail-aane
 1SG.POSS seed sow.INF-TRV-FOC 1SG.SBJ sow.INF-SBJV
 'If it (had) rained last month, I would have sown my
 seed.'

In this construction there are two factors that indicate counter factuality. The protasis has a past temporal adverb, and the subjunctive suffix *-aane* is suffixed to the main verb in the apodosis. This suffix implies that an intention could not be carried out.

The subjunctive *-aane* can also be suffixed to a negative verb. In the following example, people are discussing where to put something so that it will not be stolen.

- (20) *haya nu gadd-ako kaiso-i ekk-u-wa-aane*
 here 1PL.SBJ put.down.PFV- thief-SBJ take.IPV-TRV-NEG-
 CND₃ SBJV

"If we were to place it here, a thief would not steal it
 (but from another place he will)"

The main verb is marked with a negative suffix followed by the subjunctive *-aane*, and the implication is that if the item was put down somewhere other than "here", it will be stolen.

Two types of conditionals may occur in the same sentence, as shown in the following example. '

- (21) *birre-i yes-a-'aiko ne woond-ako*
 money- exist.INF-CVB₂-CND₂ 2SG.SBJ buy.PFV- CND₃
 SBJ

zheete-apa att-o-ko ne att-e
 trouble-ABL remain.INF-CVB₂- 2SG.SBJ remain.IPV
 FOC -FVC

"If there is money, (and) if you were to buy (land), you
 will be saved from trouble.

Free translation: If you have money and you would buy (land), you will be free of trouble.”

The conditional with *-aiko* has to precede *-ako*. A sentence with a predictive conditional can undergo a shift from non-hypothetical to hypothetical; but once hypotheticality is implied, there can be no shift back to non-hypothetical within the same sentence.

In this section we have seen that sentences with *-ako* as conditional marker tend to be hypothetical conditionals. The aspect and tense of verbs in the apodosis are keys for differentiating the degree of hypotheticality. Those with present imperfective verbs are close to non-hypothetical predictive statements, while imperfective past introduces a clear shift and produces a hypothetical statement.

Hypothetical and counterfactual statements share grammatical features and are often ambiguous. The presence of past temporal adverbs as well as the use of the subjunctive suffix *-aane* in the main verb indicates a counterfactual construction. These features can occur combined or each on their own. All counterfactual statements make use of *-ako* as conditional marker.

The next section examines the use of a special conditional with the existential verb *yese* ‘be, exist’ in both of its functions, as present existential and as auxiliary.

D. Conditional marking on the existential verb *yese* using *-so*

While the existential verb *yese* ‘be, exist’ can be suffixed with the conditional suffixes *-aiko* and *-ako*, it exhibits another suffix that differs from the above in form and has only been found in combination with this verb.

Example (22) is taken from a speech in which the speaker is trying to reconcile two parties. He admonishes both of them to let go of things they are keeping in their hearts against each other.

(22) *hi* *mutś’uro* *gaww-a* *tutt-i*

2PL.POSS	heart	stomach-LOC	tie.PFV-CVB ₁
hi	gadd-o	zeere-i	yes-<u>so</u>
2PL.SBJ	place.PFV-RL.OBJ	matter-SBJ	exist.PRS-CND ₄
dhagg-u-wa-it-e			
leave.IPV-TRV-IMP-PL-FVC			
“If there is a matter/grievance that you are keeping in your hearts, let it go!”			

The dependent clause contains an embedded relative clause that modifies the subject *zeere* matter/grievance. The subject is followed by the existential verb *yes-* “be there, exist” suffixed with *-so* and expressing the condition. The main clause is an imperative. This utterance expresses the idea that the speaker is certain about the instruction he wants to give but is unsure if it applies to the listeners or not.

Pragmatic considerations are most likely the reason why a speaker would choose a construction like the above in place of a straightforward command which in his assessment may have a too strong imperative force. This construction, as with most others that are formed with *yesso* as conditional marker, seems to fall into the category termed ‘speech act conditionals’ by (Dancygier 1998:89ff).

The verb *yesso* can stand on its own as a full predicate as seen in the above example; it can also serve as auxiliary in a periphrastic verbal construction, as shown in the following example.

- (23) *haliya oge-a e und-es-so*
 maybe path-LOC 3M.SG fell.PFV-AUX.PRS-CND₄
- oge nuuna nuuna bee-sine hang-u-wa*
 path edge edge see.IPV-TOL.S go.IPV-TRV-IMP
 “Go looking along the edge of the path, if maybe it has
 fallen along the path.”

The form *undesso* “it has fallen” is a contracted form from *undi e yesso*:

<i>e</i>	<i>undesso</i>	→	<i>und-i</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>yes-so</i>
			fall.PFV-CVB ₁	3M.SG	AUX.PRS- CND ₄
			if it has fallen		

do, it is something harmful that will happen to you.”

- (25) *mi-e e dheedd-ako ax-i ung-o-ko e ung-e*
 eat.INF- 3M.SG lack.PFV- person- fall.IPV- 3M.SG fall.IPV-
 FVC CND₃ SBJ TRV-FOC FVC
 “If a person were not to eat, he will fall.”

Similar to the above, the verb *maaqe* ‘be, become’ can be used in the dependent clause. In this case, the negative verb undergoes object nominalization and is followed by a form of *maaqe* ‘be, become’ that carries a conditional suffix. In all other aspects, it resembles an affirmative conditional, as illustrated by the following examples:

- (26) *hant-e-se danda'-utt-u-wa-s-a e maaq-o-'aiko*
 work.INF- able.INF-PASS-TRV-NEG- 3M.SG be.INF-CVB₂-CND₂
 FVC-DAT NMLZ-ACC
geede wonte zeer-e-s-u-ko hi danda'-e
 later day talk.INF-FVC-DAT- 2PL.SBJ able.IPV-FVC
 TRV-FOC
 “If it is (something) not possible to carry out, you can discuss it some later day.”

- (27) *hang-u-wa-s-a e maaddh-ako modhe-ko*
 go.IPV-TRV-NEG- 3M.SG be.PFV-CND₃ good-COP
 NMLZ-ACC
 “If he were not to go, it would be good.”

However, when both verbs are negative, the protasis has a complex verbal phrase with a nominalized negative existential expressing the condition. In this example, a woman is singing out loud while grinding flour. The thieves, who have entered her house, want to stop her since she might attract her neighbours with her singing. But she defends herself, saying:

3. Parameters for interpreting Koorete conditionals

In this section, I will attempt to describe how form correlates with meaning in a systematic way.

It has already been noted that only one of the suffixes marking conditional (*-ako*) is attached to a perfective verb form in *p*, and only a protasis with *-ako* allows for tense back shifting in *q*. Such conditionals are hypothetical in nature. Therefore, the distinction between hypothetical and non-hypothetical is one that is reflected in grammatical form through both the verbal base and its accompanying suffix.

While there is no morphological distinction between hypothetical and counterfactual conditionals in Koorete, by

Table 26.1: Verbal forms found in the protasis of Koorete conditionals

		hypotheticality	
		- hypothetical	+ hypothetical
p r e d i c t i v i t y	+ predictive	IPV stem + <i>-'aiko</i> <i>-ete</i>	PFV stem + <i>-ako</i>
	- predictive	IPV stem + <i>-'aiko</i> <i>-ete</i> <i>-so</i> (only with AUX _{prs})	PFV stem + <i>-ako</i>

using temporal adverbs or a subjunctive suffix in the apodosis an utterance can be clearly marked as counterfactual.

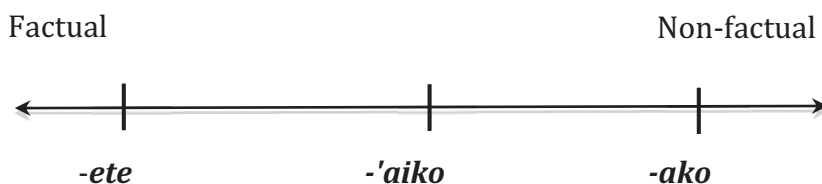
Hypothetical conditionals can be either predictive or non-predictive. Non-predictive hypothetical conditionals in the present corpus are only those with a stative verb in the apodosis.

The question arises whether the distinction of predictive versus non-predictive is a valid one for Koorete. Though there are some utterances where only the context and semantic content give clues as to the interpretation, there are grammatical features that are associated only with non-predictive conditional while others are associated with predictive ones. E.g., the existential verb *yese* suffixed with *-so* appears invariably in non-predictive conditionals, while the subjunctive suffix *-aane* in the apodosis is a feature of predictive hypothetical conditionals. Also, the apodoses in non-predictive non-hypothetical conditionals show more variety of choice concerning mood.

Conditionals with *-ete* or *-aiko* are non-hypothetical, but can be either predictive or non-predictive. Sentences that use *-ete* have a high degree of certainty that what is stated in the protasis is actually expected to happen, while those utterances using *-aiko* contain a higher degree of doubt and leave it open whether the condition will actually happen or not.

On a continuum of facticity, *-ete* would be placed on the factual end, *-ako* on the non-factual end while *-aiko* falls in the middle.

Figure 26.1



Thus we conclude that there are basically two parameters that help Koorete speakers interpret conditionals:

1. The choice of suffix in combination with its verbal stem in the protasis, and

2. The choice of verb form, especially mood and tense, in the apodosis. Other features like temporal adverbs, context and content equally need to be considered for processing such a construction.

4. General observations and conclusions

Koorete marks conditional clauses through inflection on the dependent verb rather than employing conjunctions like English “if”. The apodosis is not marked for conditional and is invariably a form that could also occur as an isolated independent clause.

The order of protasis and apodosis is not freely interchangeable; the protasis has to precede the apodosis. This most likely has to do with the fact that Koorete is an SOV language, and all dependents, including dependent clauses, precede their heads^{vi}.

The type of base form of the verb has to be considered for choice of suffix; in other words, each suffix is restricted in its use and appears only with one certain verbal base form or stem. Non-predictive conditionals referring to actual past events make use of the present existential verb with a suffix not found on other verbs. Meta textual conditionals have not been found in the present corpus.

Presenting the above data and analysis of Koorete conditional constructions will contribute to a better understanding of the Ometo cluster of languages. The variety of Koorete conditional suffixes is intriguing and their origin remains to be studied. A comparison with other Omotic languages may shed light on this and possibly on the grammaticalization process of *-aiko* as a suffix.

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Appendix I: Abbreviations

abl	ablative
acc	accusative
add	additive
aux	auxiliary
aux _{pr}	present auxiliary
aux _{pst}	past auxiliary
caus	causative
cfc	contrastive focus
cnd ₁	conditional when/if
cnd ₂	conditional -'aiko
cnd ₃	conditional -ako
cnd ₄	conditional -so
cvb ₁	converb ₁ perfective
cvb ₂	converb imperfective
dat	dative
f	feminine
foc	focus
foc ₂	focus on verb
fut	future
fvc	final vowel continuous
fvp	final vowel past
imp	imperative
ins	instrumental
inf	infinitive
ipv	imperfective
jus	jussive

jus ₂	jussive ₂ , gemination of stem-final C
loc	locative
m	masculine
refl	reflexive
neg	negative
nlmz	nominalizer
obj	object
pass	passive
pfv	perfective
pl	plural
poss	possessive
psbl	possibility
prn	pronoun
prs	present
pst	past
q	interrogative
rl	relative
sbj	subject
sg	singular
sbjv	subjunctive
tol.s	temporal overlap same subject
trv	transition vowel
1	1. person
2	2. person
3	3. person

Appendix II: Notes on the transcription

The following transcription is adopted in this paper:

IPA symbol	transcrip- -tion	IPA symbol	transcrip- -tion	IPA symbol	transcrip- -tion
p	p	ɸ	dh	dʒ	j
t	t	m	m	l	l
k	k	n	n	r	r
ʔ	ʔ	h	h	w	w
b	b	s	s	j	y
d	d	ʃ	sh	a	a
g	g	z	z	e	e
tsʰ	tsʰ	ʒ	zh	i	i
tʃʰ	c	ts	ts	o	o
kʰ	q	tʃ	ch	u	u
ɓ	bh	dz	dz		

Though the glottal stop is considered to be a consonant phoneme in Koorete, word initial glottal stops are not written. Vowel length and consonant gemination is indicated by doubling the letter. In case of digraphs only the first letter is doubled. Tone has not yet been sufficiently analyzed and for that reason will not be marked in this paper.¹

¹The article by Rolf Theil (2013) was not yet available when this paper was presented.

Appendix III: Chart of Koorete aspect and tense system

aspect tense	perfective		Imperfective	
	complex perfective anterior/perfect	simple perfective	simple imperfective	complex imperfective progressive
present (+ future)	handi(ko) ^{vii} e yese = hand- + -i + -ko + prn + aux _{pr} = PFVstem+trV+FOC+ prn + aux _{pr}	(...-ko e) hando = ham- + -d + -o = root +PFVmarker + FVP PFV stem: hand-	(... -ko) e hange = ham- + -g + -e = root+IPVmarker+FVC IPVstem: hang-	hamiya(ko) e yese = ham- + -e + -a(ka) + -ko + aux _{pr} = root +INF V + loc + FOC + aux _{pr} INFstem: ham-
past	handi(ko) e yecha = hand- + -i + -ko + prn + aux _{pst} = PFVstem + -trV+ -FOC + prn + aux _{pst}		(... -ko) e hangicha = hang- + -i + -cha = IPVstem + trV + PST	hamiya(ko) e yecha = ham- + -e + -a + -ko + aux _{pst} = root + INF V + loc + FOC + aux _{pst}

ⁱ2009 - Statistical information: 156.983 Koorete speakers. Source: Central Statistical Agency, Ethiopia, Addis Ababa.

ⁱⁱSee Thompson, Longacre, Hwang 2007:237ff.

ⁱⁱⁱNote that there are also the variant forms -'aikete and -'aiketese. These are used according to speaker preference with -'aiko being the form most commonly used.

^{iv}My data differs from Binyam, in that my corpus does not include examples of the infinitive stem of *aibe* 'hold' suffixed with *-ete* following an imperfective converb (called a dependent verb by Binyam). The forms *aibe* and *aike* are dialect variants of the infinitive.

^vNote that there is no data showing the conditional suffix *-ete* attached to the present and past existential verbs *yese* and *yecha*. The cognate verb *yese* 'live' does exist in all these forms.

^{vi}The “divergent word order” that Binyam observes in noun phrases with adjectives following the head can be accounted for by focus, in that the quality of the head expressed in the adjective is in focus rather than the head itself and therefore the adjective follows the head. (Binyam 2010:48)

^{vii}The brackets here indicate that the focus marker has to be present in the clause. It can be attached to any argument and does not necessarily have to appear in the verbal phrase, though it often does.

Le système des classes nominales en *senar* (une langue senufo du Burkina Faso): analyse et esquisse comparative avec le proto-senufo

Traoré Daouda, BIGSAS/Université de Bayreuth

Abstract

Senar is a Senufo language spoken in the South-Western part of Burkina Faso (West Africa), and especially in the Léraba Province. This article aims at analyzing the noun class system in *Senar* (*ɲɔɛr* variety, spoken in the rural area of Kankalaba) and comparing the results with those of other Senufo languages and the proto-senufo. First of all, the configuration of the different classes and genders of the language will be presented, before determining the corresponding pronouns, and identifying the semantic contents of each gender.

Then, a comparison with the noun class systems in other Senufo languages described before, will allow me to confirm or to counter the argument of the belonging of *Senar* to the Senufo language group of the Northwest (Carlson 1997), from the strict point of view of noun morphology. For that purpose and in order to facilitate the comparison, I chose to adapt my study to the common plan of description and the numbering system adopted by some Gur language researchers and contained in Miehle and Winkelmann (2007), a publication which discusses numerous Senufo languages at length. At the end of my study, I should be able to say if the *Senar* noun class system is complete and still close to the proto-senufo (Manessy 1996) or if it underwent important erosions which took it away from the group.

1. Introduction

A. Objectif, approche théorique et méthodologique

Cette étude vise à dégager le système des classes nominales en *senar* (variété *ɲɔɛr*). Il s'agira dans un premier temps de présenter la configuration des différentes classes et genres nominaux de la langue et d'en relever les pronoms correspondants. Ensuite, nous nous attellerons à identifier le contenu sémantique de chacun des genres. Un rapprochement avec les systèmes des classes nominales dans d'autres langues senufo antérieurement décrites, devrait nous permettre de conforter ou d'infirmer la thèse de l'appartenance du *senar* au groupe des langues senufo du nord-ouest (Carlson 1997), du point de vue strict de la morphologie du nom. Pour mener à bien notre étude, nous nous sommes fortement inspiré des travaux d'un groupe de chercheurs « Guristes » des universités de Bayreuth et Humboldt de Berlin en Allemagne et contenus dans Miehle and Winkelmann (2007).

En vue de faciliter une comparaison avec les systèmes des classes nominales d'autres langues senufo décrits par certains de ces chercheurs (voir Dombrowsky-Hahn et Miehle dans Miehle and Winkelmann 2007), nous nous proposons d'adopter leur système général commun de numérotation des différentes classes. En effet, ces chercheurs ont constaté que jusqu'à la parution de leur ouvrage, chaque chercheur travaillant sur les langues Gur adoptait son propre système de numérotation. Ils ont alors décidé de concevoir un système général de numérotation Gur qui pourrait servir de repère à tous les chercheurs 'Guristes' et 'Gurisants', en se basant sur certains travaux antérieurs, notamment ceux de Manessy.

En réexaminant ainsi toutes les publications sur les langues Gur, en sus des données personnelles de leurs recherches de terrain, lesdits chercheurs ont élaboré un portrait du système de classification nominale du proto Gur constitué de 25 classes. En plus des descriptions détaillées qu'ils proposent sur la morphologie de chaque classe, ils définissent également pour chacune de ces classes (ou des genres) un contenu sémantique typique. Au terme de notre étude, nous devrions être en mesure

de dire si le système des classes nominales du *senar* est complet et encore proche du Proto-senufo (Manessy 1996) ou s'il a subi des érosions importantes qui l'ont éloigné du groupe central.

B. Présentation de la langue d'étude

Le *senar* est une langue senufo parlée dans la province de la Léraba, à l'extrême sud-ouest du Burkina Faso. Les langues senufo appartiennent à la famille *Gur* (ou voltaïque) du phylum Niger-Congo et se répartissent sur un territoire morcelé entre les Etats actuels du Burkina Faso, de la Côte-d'Ivoire, du Ghana et du Mali. Si l'on s'en tient à la classification interne des langues senufo de Carlson (1997), le *senar* appartient au groupe *senufo* du nord-ouest, au même titre que le *minyanka*, le *nanerge*, le *supyire-sucite*, le *shenpire*. La variante du *senar* au centre de la présente étude est le *ɲɔɛr*, autrement appelé 'senar de Kankalaba' par Prost (voir Prost 1964). Le *ɲɔɛr* est en effet principalement parlé dans la commune rurale de Kankalaba (l'une des huit communes qui constituent la province de la Léraba).

2. Le système des classes nominales

Tableau 27.1 Suffixes nominaux et pronoms correspondants:

1	-V	<i>u</i>	<i>pe</i>	- bV	2
5	-V	<i>di</i>	<i>ke</i>	- kV	6
15	-gV	<i>ki</i>	<i>yi</i>	- yV	4
21		- rV	<i>ti</i>		
22, 23		- mV	<i>pi</i>		

Les différentes classes sont numérotées aux deux extrêmes du tableau (gauche pour le singulier et droite pour le pluriel). Les lettres précédées d'un tiret représentent les suffixes nominaux et servent d'indices de classe. Enfin, les pronoms de classe y sont inscrits en caractères gras.

A. Remarques générales

Comme attesté en *minyanka* et dans de nombreuses autres langues senufo, les noms en *senar* sont ‘organisés en 8 classes (CL) différentes, caractérisées par des suffixes. Six d’entre elles forment trois couples du singulier et du pluriel, appelés des genres (G), les deux autres classes, comportant des désignations du non-comptable, n’ont pas de pluriel’ (Dombrowsky-Hahn 1999:124). Les suffixes nominaux du *senar*, tout comme ceux des autres langues senufo (cf. Dombrowsky-Hahn 2007 et Miehe 2007), présentent un éventail de variantes pour chaque classe.

B. Le genre *u* /*pe*

Sous ce genre sont rassemblés les êtres humains et leurs différentes occupations dans la société, Dieu, de nombreux animaux domestiques et sauvages auxquels l’imaginaire populaire accorde une certaine ruse, les emprunts, etc.

	Singulier	Pluriel
Suffixes nominaux	-V, - η V	-bé, -m $\acute{e}$, -y $\acute{e}$
Pronoms SUJ., OBJ., CIRC. ⁱ	<i>u</i>	<i>pe</i>

- Les variantes de suffixes

Le suffixe du singulier (-V) est toujours représenté par une voyelle postérieure ou par la voyelle centrale étirée *a*. L’occurrence de ces voyelles dépend de la voyelle (ou la dernière voyelle) du radical. Une observation du comportement des voyelles dans les bases nominales nous a permis d’élaborer le tableau d’appariement suivant:

Tableau 27.2 Correspondances vocaliques radical/suffixe de classe:

Voyelle (ou dernière voyelle) du radical	-V
u	-u, -ɔ
o	-o
ɔ	-ɔ, -u
a	-a

Dans certains exemples nous avons même constaté que -V s'effaçait au profit de la voyelle du radical; ce qui donne lieu à la formule suivante: -V > ∅.

Pour ce qui est du ton de -V, il est tantôt haut, tantôt bas.

En ce qui concerne le pluriel, il est représenté par le suffixe -bé (-bé chez certains locuteurs lorsque la - ou la dernière - voyelle du radical est ε). -bé se réalise -mɛ lorsque la - ou la dernière - voyelle du radical est nasalisée. Le suffixe du pluriel porte toujours un ton haut.

(1)	-∅ / -bé	<i>fyá / fyábé</i>	'poisson'	<fyá-
		<i>nɔ̀bé / nɔ̀bébé</i>	'lièvre'	<nɔ̀bé-
	-V / -bé	<i>tóò / tèbé</i>	'père'	<tó-
		<i>bàá / babe</i>	'mouton'	<bà-
		<i>síkàá / síkàbé</i>	'chèvre'	<síkà-
		<i>gòó / gòbé</i>	'poule'	<gò-
		<i>wɔ̀ɔ́ / wɔ̀bé</i>	'serpent'	<wɔ̀-
		<i>cólò / cèbé (é)</i>	'femme, épouse'	<cé-
	-∅ / -mɛ	<i>zàjɔ́ / zàjɔ́mɛ</i>	'panthère'	<zàjɔ́-
		<i>fyɔ́ / fyɔ́mɛ</i>	'aveugle'	<fyɔ́-
	-V / -mɛ	<i>núù / nɛ́mɛ</i>	'mère'	<nú-
		<i>nàà / nà́mɛ</i>	'homme, époux'	<nà-
		<i>púù / pò́mɛ</i>	'chien'	<pɔ̀-
		<i>ɲmécɔ̀ɔ́ / ɲmécɔ̀mɛ</i>	'crocodile'	<ɲmécɔ̀-
		<i>sɛ́rɛ́ / sɛ́rɛ́mɛ</i>	'abeille'	<sɛ́r-
		<i>túdyɔ́ / túdyɔ́mɛ</i>	'forgeron'	<túdy-
	-ɲV / -mɛ	<i>nàbɔ́ɲɔ́ / nàbɔ́mɛ</i>	'étranger'	<nàbɔ́-

- La classe u

Cette classe regroupe certaines réalités ayant pour suffixe nominal -V (ou ∅) et ne se prêtant pas à l'emploi du pluriel dans la langue. Nous y avons relevé quelques exemples avec une prédominance des emprunts au *jula* et au français:

(2)	<i>kàgùú</i>	'mort'
	<i>fòó</i>	'salutation'
	<i>dyɔ́</i>	'termite'
	<i>bàjí</i>	'boisson alcoolisée extraite du rônier'

- Les irrégularités

Nous avons noté deux cas d'irrégularités:

. Tout comme en *minyanka* et en *supyire* (voir Dombrowsky-Hahn 2007a et b), nous avons aussi relevé en *senar* l'exemple du 'bœuf' dont le singulier se rapporte à la classe 1 (*u*) et le pluriel à la classe 4 (*yí*).

(3) *nǝ́ǝ / nǝ̀yǝ́* 'bœuf' <*nǝ́*-

En plus de cet exemple, nous avons aussi constaté que de nombreux emprunts du *senar* s'intégraient dans le genre *u/yí*. Le cas le plus frappant est celui des emprunts au *jula* dont la presque totalité appartient à ce genre. Ci-dessous quelques exemples d'emprunts au *jula* avec *-ø/-yí* comme suffixes:

(4) *fúru / fúruyí* 'mariage' < *jula: fúru* 'mariage'
tásá / tááyí 'plat, douaii' < *jula: tása* 'plat, doua'
tèmǝ́ / tèmǝ́yí 'tamis' < *jula: tèmǝ́* 'tamis'

. Le deuxième cas d'irrégularité a pour variantes suffixales *-yà/-yé*, mais se rapporte au genre *u/pe*. On s'attendrait à ce que le pluriel se rapporte à la classe 4 (*yí*) et non à la classe 2 comme c'est le cas.

(5) *sǝ́píyà / sǝ̀píyǝ́* 'être humain' <*sǝ́pí*-

Cet exemple-ci forme aussi, dans d'autres contextes, le pluriel en *-rV*, se soumettant ainsi au principe du triple genre (*-u/-pe/-tí*). A la différence de *-yV*, le suffixe *-rV* s'emploie pour les entités en nombre très élevé, difficilement comptables.

(6) *sǝ́píyà / sǝ̀píyǝ́ / sǝ́pírǝ́* 'être humain'

C. Le genre *di / ke*

Ce genre contient de façon générale les petites choses, le plus souvent longues et/ou rondes: parties du corps humain ou animal, instruments utilisés par l'homme, certains animaux et plantes.

	Singulier	Pluriel
Suffixes nominaux	<i>-V, -dV</i>	<i>-ké, -ǝ́ǝ́</i>

- Les variantes de suffixes

Les suffixes nominaux correspondant à ce genre sont:

-V ou -dV pour le singulier. Les suffixes vocaliques (ou voyelles suffixales) pouvant occuper cette position sont les voyelles antérieures -i et -ε. Les conditions d'occurrence de ces suffixes sont liées à la nature de la (dernière) voyelle du radical comme présentées dans le tableau ci-dessous:

Tableau 27.3 Correspondances vocaliques radical/suffixe de classe:

Voyelle du radical	-V
i, e, o	-i
ε, a, ɔ	-ε

Ils portent généralement un ton haut.

-ké pour le pluriel (-ké chez certains locuteurs, lorsque la - dernière - voyelle du radical est ε). -ké a une variante suffixale en -ʔé. L'occlusive glottale ʔ apparaît en effet entre voyelles mi-ouvertes (ε, ɔ). Le suffixe du pluriel porte toujours un ton haut.

(7) -V/-ké	<i>nífí / nífýéké</i>	'sexe féminin'	<nífí-
	<i>kpí / kpíké</i>	'bâton'	<kpí-
	<i>dèé / dèké</i>	'cour, concession'	<dè-
	<i>yìsú / yìsòké</i>	'mois'	<yìsò-
	<i>dù / dòké</i>	'bile'	<dò-
é/-ʔé	<i>gǣ / gǣʔé</i>	'dent'	<gǣ-
	<i>kábéé / kábèʔé</i>	'doigt'	<kábé-
	<i>kádéé / kádèʔé</i>	'paume de la main'	<kádá-
	<i>jóé / jòʔé</i>	'sexe masculin'	<jò-
	<i>cóé / còʔé</i>	'canari'	<cò-

- Le changement tonal

Nous avons relevé en *senar* un certain nombre de noms pour lesquels l'opposition entre le singulier et le pluriel ne réside que dans une différence tonale au niveau du radical: la

voyelle de la syllabe (ou de la dernière syllabe) du radical porte un ton haut au singulier, tandis qu'au pluriel elle porte un ton bas. Le suffixe reste le même aussi bien pour le singulier que pour le pluriel: *-nV* ou *-dV*. Un cas similaire de changement tonal avait été aussi identifié en *sacate* (*tagba*) par Dombrowsky-Hahn (2007: 375).

(8)	<i>fícě́ně́ / fícě̀ně́</i>	'ventre'	< <i>fícě́r-</i>
	<i>cě́ně́ / cě̀ně́</i>	'œuf'	< <i>cě́r-</i>
	<i>cédé / cèdé</i>	'calebasse'	< <i>cě́r-</i>
	<i>ně́ně́ / ně̀ně́</i>	'corne'	< <i>ně́r-</i>
	<i>jídé / jìdé</i>	'sein'	< <i>jír-</i>
	<i>tódó / tòdó</i>	'gombo'	< <i>tór-</i>

Remarque: Au regard de la morphologie de leurs radicaux, on peut déduire que ces bases nominales ont pour suffixe d'origine *-rV*. Ce suffixe, en s'associant à la consonne finale des radicaux *-r-*, donne lieu à une suite consonantique *-r+r-*. Pour des besoins d'ordre phonique, l'amalgame de ces deux sons consonantiques a engendré le son *d* (*-r+rV=-dV*). Le suffixe *-dV* varie en *-nV* lorsque la dernière voyelle du radical est nasalisée. Seule exception à cette règle de nasalisation:

(9)	<i>ně́dé / ně̀dé</i>	'foie'	< <i>ně́r-</i>
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- Les irrégularités

Nous avons noté trois exemples de bases dont les formes des suffixes constituent deux exceptions par rapport à la configuration préétablie. Il s'agit de:

(10)	<i>-é / -dé</i>	<i>kéé / kèdé</i>	'problème, affaire'	< <i>ká-</i>
	<i>-dV / -kéⁱⁱⁱ</i>	<i>zàdódó / zàdórké</i>	'écureuil'	< <i>zàdór-</i>
		<i>gódódó / gódórké</i>	'grenier'	< <i>gódór-</i>

- Le suffixe du diminutif

Les noms appartenant aux classes du singulier (*u*, *di*, *ki*) peuvent se voir adjoindre un suffixe particulier porteur d'un sens diminutif, lorsque l'être ou la chose désignée est particulièrement petit par rapport à la norme. De même qu'en *supyire* (voir Carlson 1994: 105-106), tous les noms portant le suffixe du diminutif sont automatiquement rattachés au genre

5-6 (*di-ke*). Le suffixe du diminutif est pour l'indéfini: *-dV̄V* (ton HB) avec une variante en *-nV̄V* lorsque la (dernière) voyelle du radical est nasalisée. Le défini diminutif a pour suffixes: *-dV̄ñ* et une variante en *-nV̄ñ*, lorsque la (dernière) voyelle du radical est nasalisée. Quand il s'agit d'un objet ou d'un animal petit de taille, il est adjoint à la base le suffixe du diminutif qui révèle naturellement sa petitesse.

(11)	Radical	Indéfini	Défini	Sens
	<i>kpó-</i>	<i>kpódódò</i>	<i>kpódón</i>	'petite gourde'
	<i>wò-</i>	<i>wòdódò</i>	<i>wòdón</i>	'petit serpent'
	<i>nǎ-</i>	<i>nǎnǎà</i>	<i>nǎnǎñ</i>	'petite montagne'

Mais lorsqu'on a affaire à un être humain, ce suffixe s'utilise le plus souvent dans un sens péjoratif.

(12)	Radical	Indéfini	Défini	Sens
	<i>kùlòf̣-</i>	<i>kùlòf̣dódò</i>	<i>kùlòf̣dón</i>	'petit chef'
	<i>nǎḅ-</i>	<i>nǎḅnǎdò</i>	<i>nǎḅnǎñ</i>	'petit étranger'

Contrairement au *supyire* (voir Carlson 1994: 106), il existe en *senar* un suffixe du diminutif pluriel, constamment employé par les locuteurs. Il s'agit de *-m̃ñǎ* pour l'indéfini et *-m̃ñǎñ* pour le défini.

(13)	Radical	Indéfini	Défini	Sens
	<i>kpó-</i>	<i>kpóm̃ñǎ</i>	<i>kpóm̃ñǎñ</i>	'petites gourdes'
	<i>wò-</i>	<i>wòm̃ñǎ</i>	<i>wòm̃ñǎñ</i>	'petits serpents'
	<i>nǎ-</i>	<i>nǎm̃ñǎ</i>	<i>nǎm̃ñǎñ</i>	'petites montagnes'
	<i>kùlòf̣-</i>	<i>kùlòf̣m̃ñǎ</i>	<i>kùlòf̣m̃ñǎñ</i>	'petits chefs'
	<i>nǎḅ-</i>	<i>nǎḅm̃ñǎ</i>	<i>nǎḅm̃ñǎñ</i>	'petits étrangers'

D. Le genre *ki* / *yi*

Ce genre comprend de nombreux animaux, le plus souvent gros et considérés comme peu rusés; des insectes; des notions abstraites comme la faim, le jour. Il rassemble aussi en son sein les parties les plus longues et/ou grosses du corps, les instruments d'une grande taille, les lieux d'une grande superficie.

	Singulier	Pluriel
Suffixes nominaux	<i>-gV, -ʔV, -V, -ŋV</i>	<i>-yé</i>
Pronoms SUJ., OBJ., CIRC	<i>ki</i>	<i>yi</i>

- Les variantes de suffixes

Le suffixe du singulier *-gV* alterne avec *-ʔV* ou en *-ŋV*. Nous avons du reste relevé un exemple de base dont la consonne du suffixe s'est élidée en faveur de la voyelle. La voyelle du suffixe peut être antérieure, centrale ou postérieure, à l'exception des voyelles fermées. Leurs contextes d'apparition, comme dans les cas précédents, sont liés à la nature de la (dernière) voyelle du radical. A quelques exceptions près, lorsque la voyelle du radical est antérieure, celle du suffixe est aussi antérieure. Les voyelles postérieures respectent la même logique d'harmonie. De même, les voyelles de radical *i* et *a* vont avec la voyelle suffixale *a*. Pour un aperçu général de ce comportement vocalique, voir le tableau ci-dessous:

Tableau 27.4 Correspondances vocaliques : radical / suffixe de classe

Voyelle (ou dernière voyelle) du radical	Voyelle du suffixe
i, e	-e
i, ε	-ε
u, o	-o, -ɔ
ɔ	-ɔ
i, a	-a

Le suffixe du singulier porte un ton haut.

Le suffixe du pluriel est *-yé* ou *-yé* chez certains locuteurs lorsque la (dernière) voyelle du radical est la voyelle antérieure mi-ouverte ε. Lorsque la (dernière) voyelle du radical est nasalisée, celle du suffixe est toujours la voyelle nasalisée ɛ̃. Le suffixe du pluriel porte toujours un ton haut.

- (14) **-V / -yé** *ɲɲ / ɲyɛ* 'bouche' <ɲɲ-
-gV / -yé *yùgó / yùyé* 'tête' <yù-
 yógó / yóyé 'bagarre, différent' <yó-
 gbógó / gbóyé 'tam-tam' <gbó-

-ʔV/-yé	<i>jííḡ / jííyé</i>	‘savon’	<jí-
	<i>kéḡḡ / kéḡyé</i>	‘champ’	<kéḡ-
	<i>dòʔ / dòyé</i>	‘eau’	<dò-
	<i>kàʔá / kàyé</i>	‘village’	<kà-
	<i>gbáʔá / gbáyé</i>	‘maison’	<gbá-
	<i>sóʔ / sóyé</i>	‘cheva’	<só-
	<i>mḡḡ / mḡ</i>	‘nom’	<mḡ-
-ḡV/-yé	<i>náḡá / náḡyé</i>	‘queue’	<ná-
	<i>náḡá / náḡyé</i>	‘montagne’	<ná-
	<i>zàḡḡ / zàḡyé</i>	‘chat’	<zàḡ-
	<i>zàḡùnḡ / zàḡùnḡyé</i>	‘tortue’	<zàḡùn-
	<i>bíḡ / bíḡyé</i>	‘caillou’	<bí-

- La classe *ki*

Certains noms abstraits ou de masse appartenant à la classe *ki* ont pour suffixe nominal *-gV*. Ces noms n’ont naturellement pas de pluriel.

(15)	<i>kátégé</i>	‘faim’	<káté-
	<i>sèḡḡ</i>	‘bouillie’	<sèḡ-
	<i>sḡḡḡ</i>	‘miel’	<sḡḡ-
	<i>fḡḡḡ</i>	‘boue’	<fḡḡ-

L’irrégularité de ce point pourrait constituer l’appartenance du nom ‘sang’ à la classe *ki*. Dans d’autres langues senufo il appartient, tout comme les autres liquides, à la classe *pi*. Il n’a naturellement pas de pluriel.

(16)	<i>sìḡḡ</i>	‘sang’	<sìḡḡ-
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- La dérivation

A l’instar du *minyanka*, du *supyire* et du *sacate* (voir Dombrowsky-Hahn 2007a, b, c), les suffixes du genre *ki/yi* ont aussi une fonction dérivative en *senar* lorsqu’ils sont adjoints à des noms appartenant à un autre genre. Dans ce nouveau contexte ils sont porteurs d’un sens augmentatif, généralement péjoratif pour les êtres humains et les animaux:

(17)	<i>nàḡ / nàmḡ</i>	(G1/2)	‘homme, époux’
	<i>púḡ / pòmḡ</i>	(G1/2)	‘chien’

<i>kpúi / kpòké</i>	(G5/6)	‘gourde’
<i>gḗḗ / gḗḗ</i>	(G5/6)	‘dent’
<i>kpìí / kpiké</i>	(G5/6)	‘bâton’
<i>nàḡá / nàyḡ</i>	(G15/4)	‘homme gros, grand, peu malin’
<i>pḡḡ / pḡyḡ</i>	(G15/4)	‘chien gros, grand’
<i>kpógó / kpóyé</i>	(G15/4)	‘grosse gourde ; gros contenant’
<i>gáḡá / gáyḡ</i>	(G15/4)	‘grosse, longue, vilaine dent’
<i>kpigé / kpìyḡ</i>	(G15/4)	‘bâton long, gros’

E. La classe *ti*

C’est la classe des masses, des choses innombrables et de certaines notions abstraites comme le froid, la peur, etc.

Suffixe nominal -rV

Pronoms SUJ., OBJ., CIRC. *ti*

- Les variantes de suffixes

La voyelle du suffixe peut être antérieure, centrale ou postérieure, à l’exception des voyelles fermées. Leurs contextes d’apparition, comme dans les cas précédents, sont liés à la nature de la (dernière) voyelle du radical. Il y a une harmonie entre voyelles antérieures et entre voyelles postérieures, comme cela peut s’observer à travers le tableau ci-dessous:

Tableau 27.5 Correspondances vocaliques : radical / suffixe de classe

Voyelle (ou dernière voyelle) du radical	Voyelle du suffixe
i, e	-e
i, ɛ	-ɛ
u, o	-o
u, ɔ	-ɔ
a	-a

Le ton du suffixe est généralement haut, mais on note quelques cas de ton bas.

(18)	<i>dára</i>	‘terre’	< <i>dá</i> -
	<i>kòèré</i>	‘coton’	< <i>kòè</i> -
	<i>súró</i>	‘tô’	< <i>sú</i> -

<i>tímǝrǝ</i>	'fer'	< <i>tímǝ-</i>
<i>cǝǝrǝ</i>	'cendre'	< <i>cǝ-</i>
<i>fǝrǝ</i>	'excréments'	< <i>fǝ-</i>
<i>fúnǝǝrá</i>	'morve (mucus nasal)'	< <i>fúnǝ-</i>
<i>búlóró</i>	'esclavage'	< <i>búló-</i>
<i>póóró</i>	'banco'	< <i>pó-</i>
<i>fyǝrǝ</i>	'saleté'	< <i>fyǝ-</i>
<i>wííré</i>	'froid'	< <i>wí-</i>

On note parmi les exemples deux noms déverbaux:

- (19) *káárà* 'viande' <*ká-* (*ká* 'manger en mâchant')
fyárá 'peur' <*fyá-* (*fyá* 'avoir peur, être peureux')

Nous avons en outre noté trois cas particuliers de noms appartenant à la classe 21 ayant comme structure syllabique de radical CVC avec C2=r. Ces noms se caractérisent par un suffixe de classe vocalique (V):

- (20) *kárà* 'composte' <*kár-*
kùrǝ 'gomme' <*kùr-*
céré 'corps' <*cér-*

- La dérivation

Le suffixe *-rV* a aussi une fonction dérivative. Il s'emploie pour la formation des noms de langues.

- (21) *sénǝǝ* 'personne senufo' -*sénǝǝrá* 'langue senufo'
cǝǝrǝ 'personne jula' -*cǝǝrǝrǝ* 'langue jula'
nǝvǝnǝ 'personne blanche' -*nǝvǝrǝ* 'langue du Blanc'
mǝsí 'personne mossi' -*mǝsíré* 'mooré'
jóó 'personne turka' -*jóóró* 'langue turka'

F. La classe *pi*

Il s'agit ici de la classe des liquides, des masses comestibles comme la farine, le sel, la nourriture, le médicament, ou des masses utilitaires comme la lueur, la lumière. Dans cette classe se retrouvent aussi certains abstraits, propres aux organes de sens, tels que le sommeil, le bruit, la parole.

Suffixe nominal -*mV*

Pronoms SUJ., OBJ., CIRC. *pi*

- Les variantes de suffixes

La voyelle du suffixe nominal est soit une voyelle mi-ouverte (antérieure et postérieure), soit la voyelle centrale *a*, en fonction de la nature de la (dernière) voyelle du radical, comme cela peut s'observer à travers les schémas ci-dessous:

Tableau 27.6 Correspondances vocaliques : radical / suffixe de classe

<u>RAD.</u>	<u>suff.</u>	<u>RAD.</u>	<u>suff.</u>	<u>RAD.</u>	<u>suff.</u>
<i>i</i>	-ε	<i>u</i>	-ɔ	<i>a</i>	-a
<i>e</i>		<i>o</i>			
<i>ε</i>		<i>ɔ</i>			

Le ton du suffixe est soit haut (ton dominant), soit bas.

(22)	(nì)jírṁḗ	'lait (de vache)'	<jír-
	símḗ	'dolo (bière de mil)'	<sí-
	sìṁḗ	'graisse, huile'	<sì-
	tíímḗ	'remède, médicament'	<tí-
	tímḗ	'sève'	<tí-
	míímḗ	'farine'	<mí-
	súímḗ	'sel'	<súí-
	kpḗḗṁḗ	'lumière'	<kpḗ-
	fìímḗ	'pus'	<fì-

Nous avons également relevé dans cette classe de nombreux noms déverbaux:

(23)	tìṁḗ	'bruit'	<tì-	(tìí	'retentir')
	káḗḗṁḗ	'fatigue'	<káḗḗ-	(káḗḗ	'être fatigué')
	yámḗ	'maladie'	<yá-	(yá	'être malade')
	jóómḗ	'parole'	<jó-	(jó	'dire')
	ḡḡḗṁḗ	'sommeil'	<ḡḡḗ-	(ḡḡḗ	'dormir')
	fùḡḡḗ	'sueur'	<fù-	(fùḡḡ	'transpirer')
	dìímḗ	'nourriture'	<dì-	(dìí	'manger')
	fíímḗ	'urine'	<fí-	(fííí	'uriner')

G. Le triple genre *ki* / *yi* / *ti*

Tout comme Dombrowsky-Hahn (2007a) pour le *minyanka* ou Miehé (2007a) pour le *tyebari*, nous avons identifié en *senar* certaines bases nominales ayant pour pronom représentatif singulier la classe *ki*, s'inscrivant dans une double logique de formation du pluriel. Elles forment en effet leur pluriel avec tantôt la classe *yi*, tantôt la classe *ti*, avec pour conséquence une légère différence sémantique. Le pluriel en *yi* désigne la pluralité comptable, tandis que celui en *ti* désigne la multiplicité difficilement comptable, le morcellement, etc. C'est ce constat dans le système de classification de plusieurs langues senufo que Manessy (1996: 25) appelle "sous-système triangulaire".

	Singulier	Pluriel
Suffixes nominaux	-gV, -ηV, -?V	-yV, -rV
Pronoms SUJ., OBJ., CIRC.	<i>ki</i>	<i>yi, ti</i>

- Les variantes de suffixes

(24)	-gV / -yV / -rV	<i>káciígé/káciíyé/káciíré</i>	'os'	< <i>káci-</i>
		<i>yátyóǵó/yátyóyé/yátóró</i>	'animal'	< <i>yátó-</i>
	-ηV / -yV / -rV	<i>kájǐǐǐǐǐǐ/kájǐǐǐǐǐǐ/kájǐǐǐǐǐǐ</i>	'ongle'	< <i>kájǐ-</i>
		<i>tǐǐǐǐǐǐ/tǐǐǐǐǐǐ/tǐǐǐǐǐǐ</i>	'arbre'	< <i>tǐ-</i>
		<i>gbédǐǐǐǐǐǐ/gbédǐǐǐǐǐǐ/gbédǐǐǐǐǐǐ</i>	'côte'	< <i>gbédǐ-</i>
	-?V / -yV / -rV	<i>tǐǐǐǐǐǐǐ/tǐǐǐǐǐǐǐǐ/tǐǐǐǐǐǐǐǐ</i>	'mouche'	< <i>tǐǐǐ-</i>
		<i>nǐǐǐǐǐǐǐǐ/nǐǐǐǐǐǐǐǐǐ/nǐǐǐǐǐǐǐǐǐ</i>	'charbon'	< <i>nǐǐǐǐǐ-</i>
		<i>sǎǐǐǐǐǐǐ/sǎǐǐǐǐǐǐ/sǎǐǐǐǐǐǐ</i>	'oiseau'	< <i>sǎǐǐ-</i>

H. Les suffixes du défini et de l'indéfini

De même qu'en *supyire* (voir Dombrowsky-Hahn 2007), les constituants nominaux du *senar*, tels que énumérés ci-dessus en formes de citations, correspondent également à l'indéfini générique. Ainsi, les suffixes nominaux du *senar* se répartissent en deux groupes distincts, pour les mêmes genres ou classes autonomes: les uns expriment l'indéfini et les autres le défini. La distinction fondamentale entre le défini et l'indéfini réside au niveau du ton. En effet, tandis que les suffixes de l'indéfini portent un ton soit haut, soit bas, ceux du défini portent

toujours un ton moyen. Le tableau suivant illustre bien cet état des faits.

Tableau 27.7 Suffixes du défini et de l'indéfini^{iv}

cl.	suff. de base	exp. ind.	sens	suff. déf.	exp. déf.	sens
<i>u</i>	<i>-V</i>	<i>tóò</i> <i>púù</i>	père chien	<i>-V</i>	<i>tóō</i> <i>púū</i>	le père le chien
<i>pe</i>	<i>-bV</i>	<i>tèbé</i> <i>pòmĕ</i>	père chien	<i>-bV</i>	<i>tébē</i> <i>pómĕ</i>	les pères les chiens
<i>di</i>	<i>-(w)V</i>	<i>kpúi</i> <i>gĕĕ</i>	gourde dent	<i>-Vñ</i>	<i>kpóón</i> <i>gáán</i>	la gourde la dent
<i>ke</i>	<i>-kV</i>	<i>kpòké</i> <i>gĕŋĕ</i>	gourdes dents	<i>-kV</i>	<i>kpókē</i> <i>gánĕ</i>	les gourdes les dents
<i>ki</i>	<i>-gV</i>	<i>súgó</i> <i>gbáǎ</i>	mortier maison	<i>-gV</i>	<i>súgū</i> <i>gbágī</i>	le mortier la maison
<i>yi</i>	<i>-yV</i>	<i>súyé</i> <i>gbáyé</i>	mortiers maisons	<i>-yV</i>	<i>súyī</i> <i>gbáyī</i>	les mortiers les maisons
<i>ti</i>	<i>-rV</i>	<i>cǔǔrǔ</i> <i>kǔèrǔ</i>	cendre coton	<i>-r̄</i>	<i>cǔǔr̄</i> <i>kǔér̄</i>	la cendre le coton
<i>pi</i>	<i>-mV</i>	<i>fǔmĕ</i> <i>súímĕ</i>	pus sel	<i>-m̄</i>	<i>fǔīm̄</i> <i>súīm̄</i>	l'urine le sel

Remarque: Au défini, les suffixes nominaux de structure *CV*, avec *C* correspondant à la consonne vibrante *r* ou aux consonnes nasales *n* ou *m*, *V* s'efface dans la prononciation, lorsqu'elle est l'une des voyelles fermées *i* ou *u*. Le cas échéant, le ton de la voyelle effacée est porté par la consonne (*r*, *n* ou *m*).

3. Esquisse comparative

Nous allons à présent, comme mentionné au début de notre travail, tenter une brève esquisse comparative entre le système des classes nominales du *senar* et ceux des autres langues senufo abordées dans Miehe et Winkelmann (2007). Il s'agit du

minyanka, du *supyire*, du *sacate*, du *kar* et du *tenyer* (voir Dombrowsky-Hahn 2007: 331-423) et du *tyebari*, du *palaka*, du *fodonon*, du *tagbana* et du *nafaanra* (voir Miehe 2007: 424-468). Nous allons par la suite examiner le modèle proto-senufo du système de classification nominale conçu par Manessy (1996) et les quatre types de systèmes qui en découlent afin d'identifier le type duquel le *senar* se rapproche le plus.

La remarque formelle la plus frappante et la plus commune, en examinant les tableaux des classes nominales des différentes langues senufo ci-dessus citées et celui du *senar*, se situe au niveau du nombre de classes. En effet, toutes ces langues ont en commun huit classes dont trois genres du singulier et du pluriel et deux classes autonomes. Lorsque nous examinons de plus près les différentes classes constitutives du portrait de la classification nominale senufo, nous remarquons que le *senar* se rapproche davantage du *minyanka*, du *supyire* et du *sacate*. Le schème classificatoire sous lequel on pourrait facilement ranger ces quatre langues peut être représenté comme suit:

Tableau 27.8 **Schème** **classificatoire** *minyanka*,
supyire, *sacate*, *senar*

1	<i>V</i>	—————	<i>pV</i>	2
5	<i>lV</i>	—————	<i>kV</i>	6
15	<i>kV</i>	—————	<i>yV</i>	4
21			<i>tV</i>	
22, 23			<i>pV</i>	

Remarques: La consonne *l* à l'initial des mots en *minyanka*, *supyire* et *sacate* est systématiquement réalisée *d* en *senar*. C'est ce qui justifie le fait que la classe 5 (*lV*) se réalise *dV* en *senar*. Ci-dessous quelques exemples de mots illustrant la correspondance *l > d* entre le *senar* et les trois autres langues senufo ci-dessus citées:

Tableau 27.9 Illustration de la correspondance *l > d*

français	<i>minyanka</i>	<i>supyire</i>	<i>sacate</i>	<i>senar</i>
intestin	<i>laga</i>	<i>lara</i>	<i>leŋɛ</i>	<i>daʔa</i>
eau	<i>loʔo</i>	<i>lwɔho</i>	<i>loʔo</i>	<i>doʔo</i>
être âgé	<i>lɛ</i>	<i>lyɛ</i>	<i>lɛ</i>	<i>dɛ</i>
manger	<i>di</i>	<i>lyi</i>	<i>li</i>	<i>dii</i>
lécher	<i>laala</i>	<i>laala</i>	<i>laala</i>	<i>daala</i>

En outre, la consonne initiale des classes 2 et 22/23 (*pV*) se sonorise en *sacate* (*bV*). Enfin, la classe 1 (*u*) en *minyanka*, *supyire* et *senar* se réalise *wə* (*wV*) en *sacate*.

Au regard de ces observations, nous sommes en mesure d'affirmer que la classification de Carlson (1997) qui considère le *senar* comme relevant du même groupe *senufo* du nord-ouest que le *minyanka*, le *supyire* et le *sucite* revêt une certaine logique, si l'on s'en tient à la configuration des systèmes de classification nominale desdites langues.

En analysant les quatre configurations schématisées par Manessy (1996: 23) en référence au 'modèle' proto-senufo qu'il propose, nous admettons avec lui (voir Manessy 1996: 24) que le *senar* appartient effectivement à la configuration I. Manessy précise par ailleurs que la configuration I est la plus largement répandue dans les langues senufo.

Tableau 27.10 Configuration 1 et modèle proto-senufo:

Configuration I			Modèle proto-senufo		
<i>*wV</i>	_____	<i>*pV</i>	<i>*wV</i>	_____	<i>*pV</i>
<i>*kV</i>	_____	<i>*yV</i> <	<i>*kV</i>	_____	<i>*yV</i>
<i>*lV</i>	_____	<i>*kV</i>	<i>*lV</i>	_____	<i>*kV</i>
	<i>*tV</i>			<i>*tV</i>	
	<i>*pV</i>			<i>*mV</i>	

Remarque: Manessy (1996: 23), se référant aux travaux de Prost (1964: 188-191), note que le *senar* de Kankalaba attribue la forme *pi* à la classe 2, *pe* à la classe 22/23, et *ke* aux classes 6 et 15. Cependant, à la lumière de nos données et après vérification approfondie sur le terrain, nous sommes à même

de rectifier cette erreur en signifiant que le *senar*, au même titre que la plupart des autres langues senufo, emploie les pronoms de classe: *pe* pour la classe 2, *pi* pour la classe 22/23, *ke* pour la classe 6 et *ki* pour la classe 15. Au terme de cette esquisse comparative et eu égard aux observations qui en découlent, nous pouvons dire que le *senar* n'a pas subi de modifications importantes à même de l'éloigner du modèle classificatoire proto-senufo.

4. Conclusion

De cette étude qui s'achève, nous retenons que le système classificatoire du *senar* présente dans l'ensemble les caractéristiques typiques aux langues senufo: huit classes dont trois genres du singulier et du pluriel et deux classes autonomes d'incomptables. Une brève comparaison avec les systèmes classificatoires d'autres langues senufo révèle une grande proximité entre le *senar*, le *minyanka*, le *supyire* et le *sacate*; confortant ainsi la classification interne des langues senufo de Carlson qui les range toutes dans le même groupe senufo du nord-ouest.

En procédant à une analyse comparative entre le système classificatoire du *senar* et les quatre configurations découlant du modèle proto-senufo de Manessy, nous avons abouti à des résultats qui confortent la position de ce dernier qui considère le *senar* comme appartenant au type I. La conclusion qu'on en tire aisément est que le *senar*, du point de vue de sa classification et en dépit de la forte influence du *jula* véhiculaire, parvient toujours à conserver l'essentiel de ses traits primaires et par ricochet à se maintenir dans le groupe central proto-senufo.

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ⁱ SUJ. = sujet ; OBJ. = objet ; CIRC. = circonstant.

ⁱⁱ Cérémonie de prière musulmane (du 7^e ou du 40^e jour après un décès) pour le repos de l'âme d'un défunt.

ⁱⁱⁱ Pour la variation entre le radical d'origine et celui de la base nominale au singulier, se référer à la remarque immédiatement précédente (voir Le changement tonal, sous le point C).

^{iv} Cl. = classe ; suff. = suffixe ; exp. = exemple ; ind. = indéfini ; déf. = défini.

Negation in Buwal: order, form and meaning

Melanie Viljoen, Centre for Research on Linguistic Diversity, La Trobe University, Australia/SIL Cameroon

Abstract

Buwal is a Central Chadic language spoken in the Extreme North Province of Cameroon. This language conforms to the VO and Vneg word order observed by Dryer (2009) as dominant in this region of Africa. Clauses are negated with a negative word which occurs in clause final position after objects, adverbs and adjuncts. However, it is possible for certain adverbs to follow the negative marker. If a question particle is present the negative word precedes this. For complex sentences there may be ambiguity over which clause is being negated if only one negative maker is present.

There are two negative markers, the plain negative marker *k^wāw* (or *sk^wāw*) and the existential negative marker *ák^wāw* (or *ásk^wāw*). This second marker has been derived from a contraction of the existential marker *ákā* and the plain negative marker *sk^wāw*. This marker has extended its use to verbal negation in certain pragmatic contexts, being used for simple negative assertion and for negated events which are temporally unbounded. The plain negative marker is used for denial of a corresponding positive assertion and for negated events which are temporally bounded. These two markers interact with tense, aspect, modality and verb semantics to give some interesting semantic interpretations to various negative clauses.

1. Introduction

This paper gives an overview of the negation of declarative verbal clauses in Buwal. After some general information concerning the language (Section 1), a brief summary of clause

types will be given (Section 2). Then three main areas concerning Buwal negation will be addressed; the order of the negation marker within the clause (Section 3.A), the form of the two negative markers (Section 3.B) and finally the meaning and use of each of these markers (Section 3.C).

A. Location and genetic affiliation

Buwal is a language spoken by about 7000-10 000 speakers, the majority of whom live in and around the village of Gadala located in the Far North Region of Cameroon between Maroua, the regional capital and the Nigerian border.

The Ethnologue (Lewis 2009) classifies Buwal as Afro-asiatic, Chadic, Biu-Mandara, A, A7. Dieu and Renaud (1983:357) give the following classification: Tchadique, Centre-Ouest, Daba, and Nord. The other languages of the Daba group are Gavar, Mbedam (actually pronounced *mbudum*), Mina and Daba.

2. Declarative clause types

Buwal has both verbal and verbless clauses.

A. Verbal clauses

The order of arguments within the basic verbal declarative clause is given in Table 28.1 below. Word order in Buwal is normally SV/AVO, though various elements may be topicalized through left-dislocation. Subject and indirect object agreement is marked with verbal affixes. Direct object suffixes are mostly pronominal except for third person plural which may co-occur with an overtly expressed nominal in certain pragmatic circumstances.

Verbal clauses may be divided into a number of sub-types according to which core arguments occur in them. These are intransitive (1a), transitive (1b), extended intransitive (1c) and ditransitive clauses (1d). In these examples, the core arguments are underlined.

Table 28.1: Structure of basic verbal declarative clause

Subject	Verb	Direct Object	Indirect Object	Oblique
---------	------	------------------	--------------------	---------

(1) a. **Uzəye na ege əy kawan.**

wzjé	nā	=égē
------	----	------

children	1SG.POSS	=PL
----------	----------	-----

j-kā-wān

3PL.SBJ-IPFV-sleep

“My children are sleeping.”

b. **Mana kála mavaw a pes luma Gavar.**

mānā	ká-lā	mávāw	á
mother.1POSS	PFV-make	beer	PREP1

pès	lwmà	gávár
-----	------	-------

day	market(ful.)	Gavar
-----	--------------	-------

“My mother made beer on Thursday.”

c. **Uzəye wese ege əy zlelene ŋ cen tata.**

wzjé	wēsé	=égē
------	------	------

children	DEM.DIST	=PL
----------	----------	-----

j-ḡāp-ēnē	ŋ	tsèn	tātá
-----------	---	------	------

3PL.SBJ-speak-3SG.IOBJPREP2	father	3PL.POSS
-----------------------------	--------	----------

“Those children spoke to their father.”

d. **Wala naka a detene yam ŋ nhwəye ey ntəməye.**

wālā	nākā	ā-dā-ētēnē	jām
wife	1SG.POSS	3SG.SBJ-draw-3PL.IOBJ	water

ŋ	nx ^w ā-jé	éj	ntmēk-jé
---	----------------------	----	----------

PREP2	goat-PL	and	sheep-PL
-------	---------	-----	----------

“My wife draws water for the goats and the sheep.”

A. Verbless clauses

Buwal has a number of different types of verbless clauses, all of which have the basic structure of subject followed by the predicate. They can be divided into sub-types according to their predicate; whether a noun (2a), adjective (2b), or prepositional phrases (2c). The predicate underlined.

(2) a. **Mbəy haldəma.**

mb̥j xáldmā

3SG.STAT girl

“She is a girl.”

b. **Mpe ege ndendebək a vəya.**

mpè =égē ndéndébək á vjā

plant =PL fresh PREP1 wet.season

“Plants are fresh in the wet season.”

c. **Əy ata mpe.**

ǰ á-tā mpè

3PL.STAT PREP1-on tree

“They are in a tree.”

Another type of verbless clause is the existential clause, where the existential marker *ákā* functions as the predicate (3).

(3) **Bezle ɲhwəye aka.**

béɟē nx^wā-jé ákā

enclosure goat-PL EXIST

“There is a goat enclosure”

(lit. “A goat enclosure exists.”)

3. Negation in Buwal

A. Order

Negation of verbal clauses in Buwal is coded with one of two negative particles, the plain negative *k^wāw/sk^wāw* or the existential negative *ák^wāw/ásk^wāw*. The negative particle

(underlined) occurs at the end of a clause after any objects and adjuncts (4a and b).

(4) a. **Ana ebe ca, hwa kélem sasam a manhayak kwaw.**

ánā	èbè	tsá	x ^w ā-ká-lèm
like	DEM.MED	TOP	2SG.SBJ-PFV-get
sàsàm á	mán-xājāk	<u>k^wāw</u>	
joy	PREP1	mother-land	NEG

“Like this, you did not get joy on the earth.”

b. **Wende ma, haldəma a keghwelene a cen akwaw.**

wéndé	má	xáldmā
IND.DET.SG	TOP.EMPH	girl
á-kā-ŷ ^w āl-ēnē	á	tsèn
3SG.SBJ-IPFV-show-3PL.IOBJ	PREP1	father

ák^wāw

NEG.EXIST

“Another one, the girls doesn’t show him to her father.”

This order is typologically unusual. Both Dahl (1979:91) and Dryer (1988:112) found that negative morphemes show a strong tendency cross-linguistically to precede the verb. It has also been observed that negative particles are normally associated with the verb or verb phrase (Dahl 1979:92, Payne. J. 1985:224, Dryer 1988:112, Payne. T. 1997:284). However, Dryer (2009:307) observed that Verb-Object-Negative order is very common in central Africa. In fact, this order is particularly pervasive throughout Chadic languages, being found in all three branches (Dryer 2009:311 and 346).

Negation in Buwal is what Miestamo (2005:7) would call SYMMETRIC in that apart from the negative marker there are no formal structural differences from the corresponding affirmative clause. Buwal does not use different tense/aspect marking in negative clauses.

In Buwal, it is possible to negate both a matrix clause and a subordinate clause. In the case of a speech report (5a) or a relative clause (5b), a negative marker will occur at the end of the subordinate clause as well as on the matrix clause in which it is embedded. This resulted in the two negative markers following each other; the first negating the subordinate clause, and the second negating matrix clause.

- (5) a. **Hwa dāw ŋ zla ca: « Hwa mbamawal ma taŋtaŋ səkwaw, » kwaw.**

[x ^w ā-dāw	ŋ	ʒāp	tsá	[x ^w ā
2SG.SBJ-want	PREP2	speak	TOP	2SG.STAT
mbà-māwàl	má=	tāŋtāŋ	sk ^w āw]	SR
child-man	REL=	good	NEG	
				k ^w āw]MC

NEG

“You shouldn’t say, ‘You are not a good young man.”

- b. **Jeje ege əy kazlap ata dāla ma kaḍaw ŋ ḍas kwaw akwaw.**

[dzèdzē	=égē	ǰ-kā-ʒāp	á-tā
grandparent	=PL	3PL.SBJ	PREP1-on
dālā	[má=	kā-dāw	ŋ
someone	REL=	IPFV-want	INF
ḍàs	k ^w āw]	RC	ák ^w āw]MC
cultivate	NEG		NEG.EXIST

“The grandparents didn’t talk about someone who didn’t want to cultivate.”

As a result of this distribution, ambiguity may arise when only one negative marker is present (6a and b). It may not be clear whether it is the matrix or the subordinate clause which is being negated. Similar ambiguities have been found in other Chadic languages such as Tera (Payne 1985:226) and Goemai (Hellwig 2011:306). Context can help determine the meaning.

In Buwal, the different use of the two negation markers (described later in this paper) can also be helpful in resolving

the ambiguity. For example, the verb *dāw* “want”, occurring in the matrix clause of (6a), is most frequently negated with the plain negative marker, while predicate adjective clauses such as that found in the speech report are normally negated with an existential negative. As it is the plain negative marker which occurs in this example, it is likely that the scope of the negation in (6a) is the matrix clause. In example (6b) however, the verb *dāw* “want” is found in the relative clause. Furthermore the matrix clause would normally be negated using the existential negative (cf. 5b). Therefore it is likely that the scope of the negative marker in this case is the relative clause. The correct free translation is underlined in each of these examples.

- (6) a. **Hwa dāw ŋ ulakza hwa ya: « Ebe ca, pəzek, »
kwaw.**

x ^w ā-dāw	ŋ	wlāk-zā	x ^w ā-jā
2SG.SBJ-want	PREP2	think-TRANS	2SG.SBJ-say
èbè	tsá	pzèk	<u>k^wāw</u>
DEM.MED	TOP	small	NEG

“You shouldn’t think saying, ‘This one is small.’
OR

“You should think saying, ‘This one is not small.’”

- b. **A nuna anta jeje ege əy kazlap ata dala ma
kadaw ŋ das kwaw.**

á	nwná	āntā	dzèdzē
PREP1	times.past	DEF.DET	grandparent
=égē	j-kā-l̥jāp	á-tā	
=PL	3PL.SBJ-IPFV-speak	PREP1-on	
dālā	má=	kā-dāw	ŋ
someone	REL=	IPFV-want	INF
dās	<u>k^wāw</u>		
cultivate	NEG		

“In olden times, the grandparents talked about
someone who didn’t want to cultivate.”

OR

“In the olden times, the grandparents didn’t talk
about someone who wanted to cultivate.”

No such ambiguity arises for complement and adverbial clauses. Example (7a) shows that it is possible to negate the proposition expressed by a complement clause. However, two independent negative clauses separated by a pause are employed to express a double negative meaning (7b).

- (7) a. **Sa kaḏaw hwa deŋza ma kwaw.**
 sá-kā-ḏāw x^wā-dèŋ-zā
 1SG.SBJ-IPFV-want 2SG.SBJ-think-TRANS
 mā k^wāw
 problem NEG
 “I don’t want (that) you think about the problem.”
- b. **Sa kaḏaw kwaw, hwa deŋza ma kwaw.**
 sá-ká-ḏāw k^wāw x^wā-dèŋ-zā
 1SG.SBJ-IPFV-want NEG 2SG.SBJ-think-TRANS
 mā k^wāw
 problem NEG
 “I don’t want that you not think about the problem.”
 (lit. “I don’t want (it), you don’t think about the problem.)

For adverbial clauses also, two independent clauses separated by a pause must be used if both propositions are negated (8a). The same strategy is used when the main proposition is negative and the adverbial proposition is positive (8b).

- (8) a. **A sasam akwaw, mavay kélem sakan ma taŋtaŋ akwaw.**
 ā-sàsàm ák^wāw màvāj ká-lèm
 3SG.SBJ-rejoice NEG.EXIST because 3SG-get
 skàn má= tāŋtāŋ ák^wāw
 thing REL= good NEG.EXIST
 “He doesn’t rejoice, because he did not get something good.”

- b. **Dala a ba mpe kwaw, ndar a gal dakala.**
 dālā ā-bāl mpè k^wāw ndár
 someone 3SG.SBJ-chop tree NEG so.that
 ā-gāl dākālā
 3SG.SBJ-grow a.lot
 “Someone doesn’t chop the tree, so that it (will)
 grow a lot.”

Dryer (2009:319) mentions the case of the Biu-Mandara (or Central) Chadic language Ngizim, where certain sentence adverbs are also able to follow the negative marker. Similarly in Buwal certain adverbs can occur following the negative marker (9a and b). These include: *jám* “also”, *zēnéj* “again”, *wár* “still”, *téw* “completely”, *ndzwèn* “true”, *ngārā* “true”, *éndē* “like this” and *ézē* “therefore”. The adverbs are underlined.

- (9) a. **Gwambakw kába akwaw yam.**
 g^wāmbāk^w ká-bā ák^wāw jám
 toad IPFV-taste NEG.EXIST also
 “The toad didn’t taste anything also.”
- b. **Cehw ŋkune a kadam a daba naka kwaw eze.**
 tsèx^w nk^wnè á-kā-dàm
 father.2POSS 2PL.POSS 3SG.SBJ-IPFV-enter
 á dābā nākā k^wāw
 PREP1 woman’s.hut 1SG.POSS NEG
ézē
 therefore
 “Your father doesn’t enter my hut therefore.”

Some of these adverbs can occur either after (10a) or before (10b) the negative marker, changing their scope and therefore the resulting meaning of the sentence. In example (10a) the negation is within the scope of the adverb and the meaning is that the speaker has not been to the market and still does not want to go. In example (10b) the negation is **not** within the scope of the adverb so that this clause implies that

the speaker has been to the market but does not want to go again.

- (10) a. **Sa đaw η nda a luma kwaw zeney.**
 sã-d̥aw ń ndā á lw̥mà
 1SG.SBJ-want PREP2 go PREP1 market(ful.)
 k^wāw zēnéj
 NEG again
 “I still don’t want to go to the market.”
- b. **Sa đaw η nda a luma zeney kwaw.**
 sã-d̥aw ń ndā á lw̥mà
 1SG.SBJ-want PREP2 go PREP1 market(ful.)
zēnéj k^wāw
 again NEG
 “I don’t want to go the market again.”

Dryer (2009:340) mentions a possible correlation between clause final negation and clause final question particles. He says that both of these could be viewed as having the pragmatic function of coding a particular type of speech act; of denying in the case of negation. He notes that VO languages with final question particles are common in Africa and that VONeg languages have a tendency to also be VOQ (Dryer 2009:340 and 343). This is also the case for Buwal, which has final question particles. When a negative marker is present it precedes the question particle (11).

- (11) **Hwa kezləme njef səkwaw vaw ?**
 x^wá-kā-łmē ndzèf sk^wāw vāw
 2SG.SBJ-IPFV-detect smell NEG Q
 “Don’t you smell something?”

A. Form

The form of the plain negative marker in Buwal is *k^wāw* or *sk^wāw*. The plain negative marker is cognate with negative particles found in other languages of the Daba sub-group such as *sku* in Gavar (author’s field notes), Mina (Frajzyngier and

Johnston 2005:261) and Mbudum (Burgess: personal communication) and *kun* in Daba (Lienhard 1978:23). It is likely that the form with the initial /s/ is the older form and that the negative marker is in the process of being phonologically reduced in Buwal. Either form can be used without a change in meaning.

However, in the corpus *k^wāw* occurs more frequently than *sk^wāw*. For example out of 423 verbal clauses negated with the plain negative, *sk^wāw* was found in only 88 with *k^wāw* in 335 (see Table 2).

The existential negative marker in Buwal has the form *ák^wāw* or *ásk^wāw*. This is a result of fusion and contraction of the existential marker *ákā* and the plain negative marker. In fact the combination *ákā sk^wāw* can also still be found with the same meaning as *ák^wāw/ásk^wāw* (12), although it occurs far less frequently than the fused version (see Table 28.2). Further evidence that the plain negative *sk^wāw* is the older form is that the combination *ákā k^wāw* is never found.

Table 28.2: Frequency of different forms of negative particles in verbal and verbless clauses

Form	Verbal	Existential	Other verbless
<i>sk^wāw</i>	88	-	27
<i>k^wāw</i>	335	-	56
<i>ákā sk^wāw</i>	22	18	-
<i>ásk^wāw</i>	10	6	1
<i>ák^wāw</i>	310	86	45
Total	765	110	129

- (12) **Na ndaha, uda aka səkwaw. Uda akwaw.**
 nā-ndā-xā wdā ákā sk^wāw
 1EXCL.SBJ-go-VNT.DIST food EXIST NEG
 wdā ák^wāw
 food NEG.EXIST
 “We came, there was no food. There was no food.”
 (lit. “We came, food didn’t exist. Food didn’t exist.”)

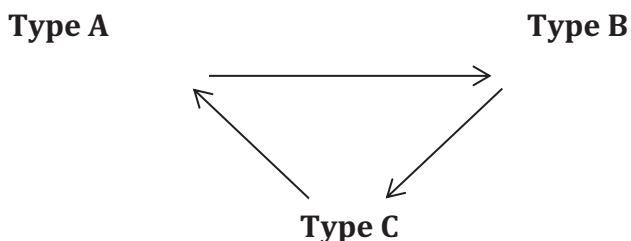
Some insight into the development of the existential negative marker in Buwal can be gained by referring to Croft's (1991) work on the evolution of negation. He states that there are three types of languages A, B and C, which form a diachronic cycle, the direction of change being A>B, B>C and C>A (see Figure 28.1).

Type A: The negation of the existential predicate is performed by a positive existential predicate plus an ordinary verbal negator.

Type B: There is a special negative existential predicate which is distinct from the verbal negator.

Type C: There is a special negative existential predicate which is identical to the verbal negator. (Croft 1991:6)

Figure 28.1 Croft's (1991:6) Negative-existential diachronic cycle



At present, Buwal cannot be categorized neatly as any one of these three types of languages. It is somewhere in the process of development from Type A to Type C. We see the Type A situation with the existential marker followed by the plain negative *ákā sk^wāw*. Then these two markers fuse and contract to form *ák^wāw/ásk^wāw* which gives a Type B situation. Finally the existential negative marker extends its use to verbal negation (Type C) as in (13a).

However, in Buwal the existential negative is only used in *part* of the verbal grammatical system, a situation which is also referred to by Croft as a possibility (p10). This will be discussed further in the next section. It is clear that Buwal has not completely become a Type C language however, since the

combination *ákā sk^wāw* can also be used for verbal negation (13b). Twenty-two examples of this pattern were found in the corpus of 765 verbal clauses (see Table 28.2). This is unusual as, according to Croft's diachronic cycle, it would be expected that the process of the formation of a special negative existential predicate would be completed before being extended to the use of verbal negation. However, he does note that the sequencing of these stages is not absolute (p22).

(13)a. **A kanda a damaw akwaw.**

á-kā-ndā	á	dámāw
3SG.SBJ-IPFV-go	PREP1	bush
<u>ák^wāw</u>		
NEG.EXIST		
"She is <u>not</u> going to the bush."		

b. **Ma a hey ca, hejəye əy kasəbar ara aka səkwaw vaw?**

má=	ā-xěj	tsá	xèdzè-jé
REL=	3SG.SBJ-run	TOP	person-PL
j-kā-sbār	ārā	ákā	sk ^w āw vāw
3PL.SBJ-IPFV-follow	SIM	EXIST	NEG Q
"When he fled, weren't people following him at the same time?"			

It is likely that the development of the existential negative marker and its use in verbal clauses in Buwal is a relatively recent process as certain languages nearby such as Daba (Lienhard 1978:24) and Mofu-Gudur (Hollingsworth2004:16) are clearly Type A. However, in other languages of the Daba subgroup such as Mina (Frajzyngier and Johnston 2005:264), Gavar (author's field notes) and Mbudum (Burgess: personal communication), existential negation can also be used for verbal clauses. In Mina, no contraction of the existential and negative marker has taken place. Mbudum has a special existential negative marker *haala* which appears to have no relationship to the Buwal existential *aka*. The language most closely related to Buwal, Gavar, on the other hand, has the plain

negative maker *sku* and the existential negative marker *akas*. It is interesting that the fusion and contraction of the existential marker *aka* and the plain negative in Gavar has resulted in a different form of the existential negative marker from that found in Buwal.

A. Meaning

Having more than one way of marking negation in verbal clauses is not unusual cross-linguistically. There may be variation according to tense, aspect, mood, verbal vs. existential clauses, verbal vs. non-verbal clauses or speech act type (Payne. J. 1985:222-223, Payne. T., 1997:282, Miestamo 2005:15, Ziegelmeyer 2009:19). In Buwal however, negation marking does not vary in relation to tense/aspect marking as clauses in all tenses and aspects can take either marker. Furthermore, each negative particle can occur with verbs which are either semantically active or stative.

The difference in use between the two negative markers in Buwal appears to be a pragmatic one. The examples in (14b and c) and (15b and c) contrast the meaning of the answers given using each type of negative marker to the questions in (14a) and (15a) respectively. It seems that the plain negative *k^wāw/sk^wāw* is used for **denial** of a corresponding positive assertion. The answer in (14b) counters the expectation that the person has eaten food as it is known that he was hungry and planning to eat. In example (15b) the speaker is seen on the road and so it assumed he is going to the market. His denial counters that expectation.

When the plain negative is used, there is usually an implied or explicitly stated alternative state of affairs which prevents the positive assertion from being true. For example in (15b) the speaker is not going to the market since he is going elsewhere.

The Buwal existential negative *ák^wāw/ásk^wāw* on the other hand, codes a **simple negative assertion** that does not need to be interpreted with reference to a corresponding affirmative clause. For example in (14c) there is no expectation that the speaker will have eaten as he is not hungry. Example (15c) is said while the speaker is still at home so there is no expectation

that he is going anywhere. This marker could be interpreted as meaning ‘it is not the case that...’ or ‘the situation does not exist such that...’

(14)a. **Hwa kázam uda vaw ?**

x^wā-ká-zàm wdā vāw
2SG.SBJ-PFV-eat food Q
“Have you eaten food?”

b. **Sa kázam uda kwaw.**

sā-ká-zàm wdā k^wāw
1SG.SBJ-PFV-eat food NEG
“I haven’t eaten food (yet).”
(The speaker wants food and is planning to eat.)

c. **Sa kázam uda akwaw.**

sā-ká-zàm wdā ák^wāw
1SG.SBJ-PFV-eat food NEG.EXIST
“I haven’t eaten food.”
(The person doesn’t want food.)

(15)a. **Hwa nda a luma vaw ?**

x^wā-ndā á lwmà vāw
2SG.SBJ-go PREP1 market Q
“Are you going to the market?”

b. **Sa nda a luma kwaw.**

Sā-ndā á lwmà k^wāw
1SG.SBJ-go PREP1 market NEG
“I am not going to the market”

Sa nda a wata mana.

sā-ndā á wātā mǎnā
1SG.SBJ-go PREP1 compound mother.1POSS
“I am going to my my mother’s compound.”
(Said on the road while going.)

c. **Sa nda a luma akwaw.**

sā-ndā	á	lwà	ák ^w āw
1SG.SBJ-go	PREP1	market	NEG.EXIST

“I am not going to the market.”
(Said while the speaker is still at home.)

Contini-Morava (1989:126-127) in her discussion of negation in Swahili invokes the concept of “temporal boundedness” to help explain the difference in meaning of the three negation strategies found in this language. She states that two of these describe the negated occurrence as limited in time whereas the other is neutral with respect to time limitations. She goes on to say that there are two ways a negative event can be temporally bounded. The first is that the *opportunity* for the positive event to occur is limited in time, meaning that it is not expected to occur at other times. Secondly the *negation* of the event is restricted in time, so that at other times the event would be expected to occur.

The concept of ‘temporal boundedness’ can also be applied to the use of the plain and existential negative markers in Buwal. The examples in (16) and (17) below illustrate the difference in meaning in this regard when each type of negative marker is used. The existential negative is used for negated events which are unspecified for time limitation and are likely to persist unchanged. In (16b) below the house still exists and so is still not beautiful. And in example (17b) the speaker will never know because he refuses to find out.

This lack of temporal boundedness reflects the existential negative marker’s stative-like origin. It is used for situations that either never will exist, or will not exist over an extended period of time.

The plain negative on the other hand is used to refer to negated events which are temporally bounded. Unlike Swahili, Buwal does not make a distinction within this category. In example (16a) below, the *opportunity* for the house to be beautiful is over as it has now been destroyed. In (17a) it is the *negation* which is temporally bounded as once the obstacle to the speaker’s knowledge is removed, he will know.

- (16)a. **Ujek anta kádadaɓ kwaw.**
 wjēk āntā ká-dàdàɓ k^wāw
 house DEF.DET PFV-be.beautiful NEG
 “The house was not beautiful.”
 (The house no longer exists.)
- b. **Ujek anta kádadaɓ akwaw.**
 wjēk āntā ká-dàdàɓ ák^wāw
 house DEF.DET PFV-be.beautiful NEG
 “The house was not beautiful.”
 (The house is still there.)
- (17)a. **Sa kanasan kwaw.**
 sá-kā-ná-sàn k^wāw.
 1SG.SBJ-IPFV-FUT-know NEG
 “I will not be knowing.”
 (I want to know but something prevents me.)
- b. **Sa kanasan akwaw.**
 sá-kā-ná-sàn ák^wāw
 1SG.SBJ-IPFV-FUT-know NEG.EXIST
 “I will not be knowing.”
 (I refuse to know.)

Examples (18) and (19) below illustrate the use of each negation marker in natural spoken data. In (18) the speaker is describing the various huts in his compound. He states that his daughters’ hut is not arranged properly. The use of the plain negative marker here implies that this situation will not last forever; patching it with straw is only a temporary measure.

- (18) **Yaw, ujek vedəye aka zeney. Kaw mala heləye na ege, kélemeye kwaw. Dap sa ɗap ka a ŋkusaf.**
- | | | | | |
|------------|------------|-------------|--------------------------|--------|
| jàw | wjēk | vēdjé | ákā | zēnéj. |
| so(ful.) | hut | IND.DET.PL | EXIST | again |
| káw | mālā | xāl-jé | nā | |
| even(ful.) | ASS | daughter-PL | 1SG.POSS | |
| =égē | ká-lām-ējē | | <u>k^wāw</u> . | ɗāp |

=PL PFV-arrange-PART NEG patch.up
 sā-dāp ká á nksāf.
 1SG.SBJ-patch.up ANT PREP1 grass
 “Then there are other huts as well. Even my daughters’ (hut) is not arranged (yet). I have patched it with straw for the moment.”

In example (19) the speaker is recounting the history of a particular clan. Here he is describing their success in war; wherever they went they did not lose one person. The use of existential negation here emphasizes the fact that no one would **ever** die. The negation is temporally unbounded.

(19) **Kaw a katay, əy kandaha, əy nda, əy da gham, əy nda aza a wata celele. Dala tengulen a kefətek akwaw. Dala a kamac akwaw, a taba tata akwaw.**

káw á kátáj j-kā-ndā-xā
 even(ful.) PREP1 where 3PL.SBJ-IPFV-go-VNT
 j-ndā j-dā yàm j-ndā
 3PL.SBJ-go 3PL.SBJ-draw war 3PL.SBJ-go
 āzà á wātā tsélélé.
 IT PREP1 home not.one.missing
 dālā téng^wlèn á-kā-ftēk
 someone one 3SGSBJ-IPFV-lose
 ák^wāw. dālā á-kā-màts
 NEG.EXIST someone 3SG.SBJ-IPFV-die
 ák^wāw á tàbā tātá ák^wāw
 NEG.EXIST PREP1 middle3PL.POSS NEG.EXIST
 “Wherever they came or went, they made war and they came home with not one missing. Not one person was lost. No one died among them.”

4. Conclusion

Negation of declarative verbal clauses in Buwal has a number of interesting features. It is coded by one of two negative particles, the plain negative *k^wāw/sk^wāw* and the existential negative *ák^wāw/ásk^wāw*. Although unusual cross-linguistically, Buwal conforms to the common situation in the

Chadic language family in that the negative particle occurs at the end of a sentence following objects and adjuncts although it may be followed by certain adverbs and the question marker.

The existential negative is formed through fusion and contraction of the positive existential marker *ákā* plus the plain negative *sk^wāw*. This marker has extended its use to verbal negation in certain pragmatic contexts, being used for simple negative assertion and for negated events which are not temporally bounded. The plain negative marker, on the other hand, is used for denial of a corresponding positive assertion and for negated events which are temporally bounded.

Abbreviations

1INCL.SBJ	First person inclusive subject agreement
1POSS	First person possessive
1SG.POSS	First person singular possessive
1SG.SBJ	First person singular subject agreement
2SG.SBJ	Second person singular subject agreement
2PL.POSS	Second person plural possessive
2POSS	Second person possessive
3PL.IOBJ	Third person plural indirect object agreement
3PL.POSS	Third person plural possessive
3PL.SBJ	Third person plural subject agreement
3PL.STAT	Third person plural stative pronoun
3POSS	Third person possessive
3SG.IOBJ	Third person singular indirect object agreement
3SG.SBJ	Third person singular indirect object agreement
3SG.STAT	Third person singular stative pronoun
ANT	Anticipation marker
DEF.DET	Definite determiner
DEM.MED	Medial demonstrative
EXIST	Existential
FUT	Future
IND.DET.SG	Singular indefinite determiner

INF	Infinitive
IPFV	Imperfective
IT	Itive marker
NEG	Plain negative
NEG.EXIST	Existential negative
PL	Plural
PFV	Perfective
PREP	Preposition
Q	Question marker
REL	Relative marker
SIM	Simultaneity marker
TOP.EMPH	Emphatic topic
TRANS	Transitivity marker
VNT.DIST	Distal ventive marker

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Focusing in Ngamambo: A Minimalist Approach

Sirih- Nagang Nancy Nyindem, University of Buea

Abstract

This paper sets out to investigate the syntactic operation of focusing. It brings out a comparison of two apparently distinct constructions proposing a unique account of their morpho-syntactic and semantic structures. On the basis of the fact that information can be packaged varyingly given the intention of the speaker, the relationship between focus construction and relative clauses of recent have been a major area of linguistic inquiry within all linguistics traditions: descriptive, theoretical, and typological (Givon 1975). The objective of this study therefore is to carry out a comparative analysis of focus constructions and relative clauses in Ngamambo, even though they could be apparently distinct from each other, they share a common operation; focusing. Ngamambo¹ is a Grass field Bantu language spoken in the North West Region of Cameroon. Greenberg (1963) classifies Ngamambo under the Niger –Congo language family. Dieu and Renaud (1983) classifies Ngamambo under Grass field Bantu within the Momo language group. Heine (2000) further traces the genetic background of Ngamambo down the ladder of classification from Niger-Congo, through Bantoid and Bantu. The exact number of speakers of Ngamambo is not known but the Bright (1992) estimates that Ngamambo speakers in the Mezam division in the North West of Cameroon number up to 20 to 22000. Like other Grass field Bantu languages, Ngamambo has a noun class system with an extensive system of grammatical agreement. The basic word order in the language is SVO.

1. Introduction

Some Linguists have acknowledged the fact that, there are some striking formal similarities between focus construction and relative clauses in some languages. Schachter (1973) defines this type of relationship as a deep non-language specific relationship in which both constructions involve the promotion of material from an embedded clause into a matrix clause.

According to Adger (2003), the motivation for the movement in the relative clause is attributed to the presence of a (+ *Rel*) feature associated with a relative pronoun in C^{oi} . The validity of this claim is found in languages such as Akóóseⁱⁱⁱ where embedded sentences that modify noun phrases with the relative pronoun vary with respect to the noun class of the relativized NP. Also as a syntactic operation that may be correlated with the semantic process of foregrounding one part of a sentence at the expense of the rest. Furthermore, Biloa (1992) carried out a similar study on focusing in Tuki wherein he accounts for the presence of an overt morphological morpheme marking focus in constructions. He also adopts an independent maximal projection to account for the locus of the +Foc feature. More so, works such as Chibaka (2006) gave some impetus this present study. In this paper the interrogative pronoun is fronted to the sentence initial position as opposed to its based position, in situ in WH-questions and this operation is similar to focusing in the language.

Most Grassfields Bantu languages (*bifii*, *meta'a*, *aghem* etc.) make use of the syntactic operation focusing, but the manner in which this operation is realized varies. Focusing could be derived through the process of copying, deletion or via movement. It is therefore worth mentioning that the process of constituent movement will be better equipped to deal successfully with the analysis of both construction types in Ngamambo. Both constructions single out a particular constituent from a group for purposes of emphasis. Also the morph-syntactic distribution of the focused and relativized constituent is similar in both constructions which justify the proposition of a unified account for both constructions. Samples of both constructions are collected from the native speakers and a comparative study is

carried out taking into account the different components of grammar, (phonology, morphology, syntax, semantics, pragmatics etc.). Hence, it is observed that both constructions in Ngamambo express some similarities and dissimilarities.

For instance, one of the similarities between these two constructions lies in the distribution of the constituent which the speaker intends the listener to focus attention on. In both cases, we notice that the focused constituent and the relativized NP are displaced from their original positions. That is, instead of using phonetic cues, (e.g. high tone, intonation contours etc.) as it happens in some languages, the Ngamambo speakers obligatorily move the relevant constituent from its base position to a slot reserved for emphasis and contrastive focus.

Thus, a minimalist analysis of both constructions account for the trigger of movement, the locus of the trigger and the landing site of the moved constituent. Hence a +FOC feature located in the head of *FocP*. is proposed to account for preposing of both the focused constituent and the relativized NP.

2. Comparative study of focus and relative constructions Ngamambo

Some linguists have acknowledged the fact that, there are some striking formal similarities between focus constructions and relative clauses in some languages; a fact suggesting that there is some deep, non-language specific relationship between the constructions which involves the promotion of material from an embedded clause into a matrix clause (Schachter 1973). The claim about the nature of this relationship is that, both constructions involve the promotion of material from an embedded into a matrix sentence, a syntactic process that may be correlated with the semantic process of foregrounding one part of a sentence at the expense of the rest. Below is a brief discussion on the similarities between focus and relative constructions in Ilongo^{iv} (Schachter 1973:24).

According to Schachter (1973:24) the process of deletion rather than pronominalization is involved in the formation of both relative and focus constructions in this language. Hence the

similarity between these two constructions is the insertion of some morphemes.

(1a) nag-dala ang babayi sang Bata
 AGT-bring Top woman Obj Child
 'The woman brought the child'

(b) babayi nga nag- dala sang bata
 woman Rel.M AGT-bring Obj. child
 'Woman that brought a child'

(c) ang babayi ang nag-dala sang bata
 Top. Woman Top. AGT-bring Obj. child

For instance looking at the constructions above from Ilongo, to form the relative clause of 1b (*nga nag-dala sang bata*), the relative maker *nga* is inserted at the beginning of the clause and the topic NP is deleted. Likewise to form the out-of-focus clause of 1c (*ang nag-dala sang bata*), the marker *ang* is inserted at the beginning of the clause and the topic NP is deleted. Secondly, he further states that both constructions deal with a parallelism between the relation of an antecedent to the sentence underlying the relative clause and the relation of the focus clause.

At first glance, the content of usage as well as some aspects of the syntax seems to suggest that the focus construction must be treated apart from the relative clause. In other words, a number of properties of the two construction types seem to indicate that the two are distinct, one from the other. For instance, although these two constructions in Ngamambo, are to an extent semantically/pragmatically similar giving the intention of the speaker, they are distinct phonologically, morphologically and syntactically.

As such, we need to provide a separate syntactic analysis for each. The focus construction differs from the relative clause phonetically, phonologically, morphologically and syntactically as expressed in the paragraphs that follow.

Phonetically, the difference between these two constructions is an intonation break, which occurs in one of the constructions and not in the other. Thus, in the Ngamambo relative clause, this

intonation break is experienced immediately after the word *ní* (that ...) introducing the embedded clause. Consider the examples below.

- (2a) ədzɔ nī, Fon ké dzek fə pfrú
 Snake that Fon P₂ eat aux dead
 'The snake that, the Fon ate is dead.'

- (b) wà'áni zé nī, mə zóni wə ngà nəp
 book det. that I buy P₀ in house
 'The book which, I bought is in the house.'

The intonation break marked by a comma in writing makes the relative clause examples in 2 above look formally like topicalization and left dislocation. In focus constructions on the other hand, this intonation break is not experienced. This could be as a result of the fact that a morpheme is prefixed to the sentence. Consider the illustration below.

- (3) àyé ədzɔ Fon dzìghə t_i
 It is(Foc) Snake Fon eat
 'It is a snake Fon ate (not a toad).'

The morpheme *àyé* is prefixed to the noun in a focus construction, which makes it different from the relative clause. Secondly, a phonological process of tone lowering takes place on the tone on the word *ní* consider the data below.

- (4a) àyé Achu (ní) ké t_i tsá'à Fon ngà nəp
 it is (Foc) Achu det. (that) P₂ send Fon in house
 'It is Achu who sent Fon into the house.'

- (b) é Fon nī Achu, ké tsá'à t_i ngà nəp fə pfrú
 Fon (det.) that Achu P₂ send in house aux dead
 'The Fon who, Achu sent into the house is dead.'

In the Focus construction of 4(a) above the relative pronoun (*ní*) is used with a high tone assigned on it. Unlike 4(a) in the relative clause of 4(b), this high tone on the relative pronoun is lowered to a mid-tone. The lowering of the high tone on the relative pronoun

to a mid-tone in a relative clause can be accounted for, stating the fact that the intonation breaks immediately after this morpheme in the construction affects the tone causing it to be lowered.

Also, another difference between these two constructions can be expressed morphologically. Morphologically, it is realized that there is an obligatory presence vs. optional use of the word *ní*. In Focus constructions, the word (*ní*) “that, who...” is optionally omitted. Consider the examples below.

(5a) àyé Achu (ní) t_i kè dzìghè rìdzek zé ngà nèp
 it is (Foc.) Achu that P₂ eat food det. in house
 ‘It is Achu who ate the food in the house.’

(b) àyé ədzɔ Fon kè dzìghə t_i
 it is (Foc.) snake Fon P₂ Eat
 ‘It is a snake that the Fon ate.’

In the Focus construction of 5(a) and (b) the word *ní* is used optionally and the sentences are grammatical. In the relative clause on the other hand, the presence of this word is mandatory. Hence, unlike in the Focus construction, the absence of this word in the relative clause distorts the meaning.

(6a) rìdzek zé nī Achu kè dzìghè t_i ngà kán fə mǐjé
 Food det. that Achu P₂ eat in dish Pro finish
 ‘The food which Achu ate in the dish is finished.’

Syntactically, another contrast between these two constructions involves the prepositional phrase. Considering the assumption that Focus constructions are derived from structures that include relative clause as their input, we expect them to share the same environments which can be relativized or focused, but this is not the case. For instance, in Ngamambo relative clauses, the antecedent constituent can only be a noun or pronoun. The prepositional phrase cannot be relativized in the language. Consider the examples below.

(7a) Achu kè dzìghè rìdzek zé ngà kán
 Achu P₂ eat food det. In dish
 ‘Achu ate the food in the dish.’

(b) rɪdzɛk zé_i nī Achu kè dzɪghè t_i ngà kán
 food det. That Achu P₂ eat in dish
 'The food, which, Achu ate in the dish...'

(c) *ngà kán nī Achu kè dzɪghè rɪdzɛk zé
 pp dish That Achu P₂ eat food det.
 'In the dish which Achu ate the food...'

Thus, as seen in the examples above the constituents for relativizations are restricted, for instance the prepositional phrase cannot be relativized. Unlike the relative clause, in Focus constructions the constituents are not restricted for focus. Consider the examples below.

(8a) àyé rɪdzɛk zé_i Achu Kè dzɪghè t_i ngà kán
 it is food det. Achu P₂ eat in dish
 (Foc)
 'It is the food that Achu ate in the dish.'

(b) àyé ngà Kán_i ní Achu kè dzɪghè rɪdzɛk zé t_i
 it ispp dish that Achu P₂ eat food det.
 (Foc)
 'It is in the dish that Achu ate the food.'

Unlike the relative clause (7c), the prepositional phrase can be focused as a Focus construction as seen in 8(b) above.

In the foregoing section, we have highlighted a good number of significant differences between focus and relative constructions. Despite this we cannot totally deny the fact that these two constructions exhibit some degree of syntactic and semantic similarities.

Semantically, one striking similarities between the focus and the relative construction in Ngamambo is the speaker's intention when uttering these sentences.

In these constructions, the speaker's intention is to single out a particular element or constituent in the sentence he wants to lay emphasis on. For instance in both the relative clause and the focus

construction the speaker decides to focus on a particular constituent in the clause considering the message he wants to pass through. For example, in the focus construction in (a) below, the speaker singles out “the boy” from a group of students as being responsible for the theft of the book. Similarly, in the relative clause in (b), the speaker singles out a particular child from a group of children.

a) It is the boy (not the girl) who stole the book.

b) The boy who stole the book was caught.

Another syntactic similarity between the two constructions lies in the distribution of the constituent which the speaker intends the listener to focus attention on. In both cases, we notice in the examples we have provided thus far, that the focused constituent and the relativized NP are displaced from their original positions. That is, instead of using phonetic cues, (e.g. high tone, intonation contours etc.) as it happens in some languages, the Ngamambo speakers obligatory moves the relevant constituent from its base position to a slot reserved for emphasis and contrastive focus as reflected in 9(a and b) below.

Another syntactic similarity which relates very closely to the one expressed above, is the syntactic position that the focused constituent and the relativized NP occupy. In both constructions, the particular constituent the speaker decides to lay emphasis on moves out of its original base position in a lower clause into a higher clause where it precedes the subject of the lower clause. Consider the examples below.

(9a) Ngu kè tsà’á Fri ngà nèp Declarative sentence
 Ngu P2 send Fri in house
 ‘Ngu sent Fri into the house.’

(b) Focused on the direct Object
 àyé Fri í ní Ngu kè tsà’á tí ngà nèp
 it is(Foc) Fri that Ngu P2 send in house
 ‘It is Fri that Ngu sent into the house.’

(c) Focused on the indirect Object

àyé ngà nèp í ní Ngu kè tsà'á Fri t_i
 it is(Foc) in house that Ngu P2 send Fri
 'It is to the house that Ngu sent Fri.'

In 9(b, c) above, the direct and indirect objects are focused respectively and they are move to a position before Ngu, which is the subject of the lower clause. That is they move to a pre-subject position. This same process is experienced in the relative clause as seen in 10 below.

(10a) Ngu kè tsà'á wánbàjà wé ngà nèp Declarative sentence
 Ngu P2 send child-man det. In house
 'Ngu sent the boy into the house'

(b) wánbàjà wé í nī Ngu kè tsà'á t_i ngà nèp
 child-man det. that Ngu P2 send in house
 'The boy that Ngu sent into the house'

In 10b above the direct object, *wánbàjà wé* 'the boy' is relativized and is moved out of its base position in the lower clause to a position before the subject NP Ngu.

The third syntactic similarity between these two constructions is the use of the complementizer /ní/. As seen in both the relative and focus constructions in Ngamambo above. This complementizer whose form is identical and invariant in both construction types is positioned between the moved constituent and the subject of the lower clause.

Minimalist analysis of focus and relativization in Ngamambo

Considering these similarities therefore, a grammar of Ngamambo would then be much simplified if the rules for generating focus and relative constructions are coalesced. From a superficial view point, it seems credible to propose that one of the

two constructions is derivable from the both via some transformational rule.

However, it is not difficult to show that such a hypothesis is incorrect. From the foregoing, it is obvious that neither focus nor relative constructions can be derived transformationally from the other. We therefore have to look somewhere else to account for the striking and widespread syntactic and semantic similarities between the constructions. One possibility, we will explore in this research is to consider that the structures underlying the two constructions, even though not identical, share some common properties. It is this property with which the rules common to the derivation types are related.

In order to investigate this possibility, let us take a closer look at the striking similarities in the syntax and semantics of the two constructions. As earlier mentioned in both constructions, the target constituent is moved out of its original base position to a pre- subject position on both constructions. Also both constructions make use of the complementizer *ní* and this marker occupies the position immediately after the moved constituent in a pre- subject position. And lastly, the speaker's intentions in both constructions are the same give that he chose a particular element in the construction he wants to lay emphasis on.

Looking at these similarities between the focus and relative constructions in Ngamambo we can state the following:

- a) The trigger of movement in both constructions is the same.
- b) The locus of the trigger of movement in both focus and relative constructions is identical.
- c) The landing site of the moved constituent in both constructions is the same.

B. Trigger of movement

According to Lasnik (1995), movement can be triggered by Enlightened Self Interest (ESI). This principle expresses the idea that constituents move to check feature carried by other constructions. Two principle configurations for checking feature are recognized; if the constituent that moves is a head of a lower clause, it moves to the specified position of a higher clause, establishing a spec-head configuration. For instance, the strong

Comp. feature has the power to move the relativized NP to a pre-subject position. Thus considering the structure of relative clauses in Ngamambo (as illustrated above), we want to state that a strong Comp. feature associated with the head C° position is responsible for the movement of the relativized NP. Also, it seems plausible to claim that a focus feature is also involved in triggering movement of a focused constituent.

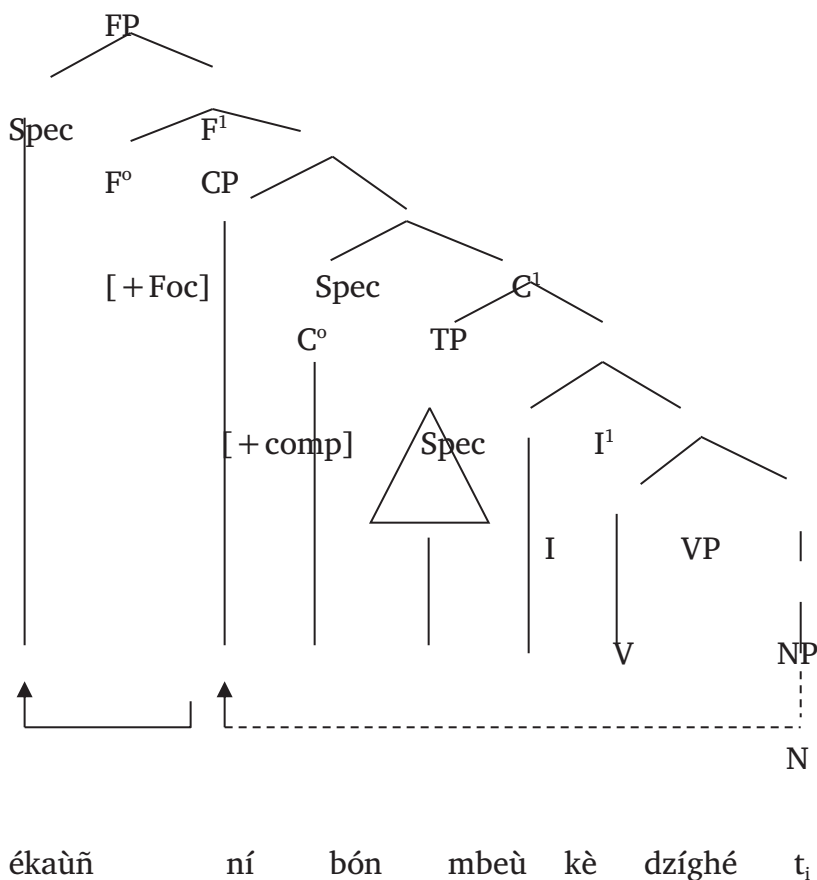
B. Locus of the trigger

According to Bearth (1999), the head Foc. of FP has a strong feature and it is this strong feature that triggers the movement of the focused items. Considering this proposition therefore, we can state that the +Foc features is responsible for the trigger of movement of the focused NP in both relative and focus clauses in Ngamambo. Thus, it occupies the head *Foc.* position (FP).

C. The landing site of the moved constituent

I can plausibly state that the focused constituent in the relative clause moves to the specifier position of the focus phrase (FP). The movement of this constituent therefore to Spec. FP enables the focus features of the moved constituent to be checked against those of the head Foc. and vice versa in the required Spec-Head configuration. Consider the diagram below.

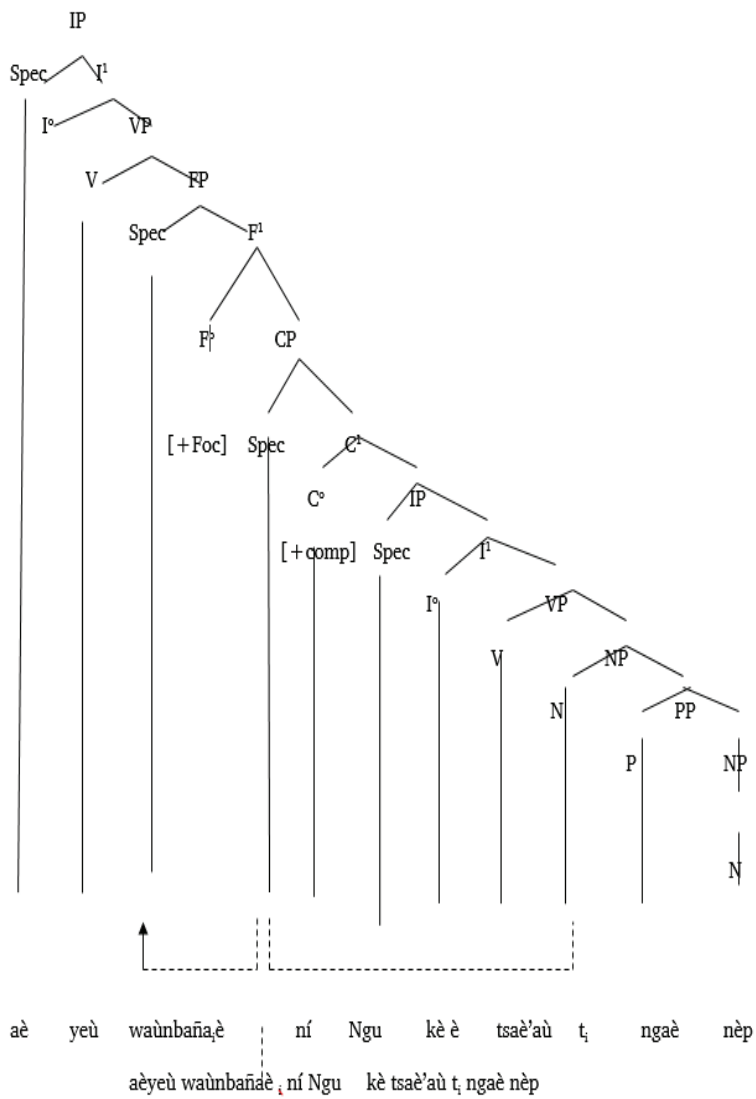
Figure 29.1:



As illustrated in figure 1, the relativized NP first of all moves in to the Specifier position of the complementizer phrase (spec. CP), in order to satisfy the need of a strong Comp. position and later on moves to the specifier position of the focus phrase (spec FP) enabling it to check its focus feature against that of the head [+Foc] feature in a Spec-Head relation. Thus, this movement process respects the economy considerations, which favours shorter movements over longer ones. So Comp. lures the moved constituent into Spec. CP given that Spec. CP is a potential landing site for moved constituents. The relevant condition (favouring shorter moves over longer ones) is known as the principle of shortest movement and the effect of this principle is to favour the

formation of movement chains with minimal (i.e. the smallest/shortest possible) links.

Figure 29.2



From the illustration above, a higher IP projection is postulated above FP to account for the cleft marker in focus constructions in Ngamambo. Thus considering our analysis for both relative and focus constructions in Ngamambo this far, taking into account their semantic interpretations, we strongly claim that a unified structure can be postulated for both construction types in the language. This structure can be schematized below as follows:

Figure 29.3:

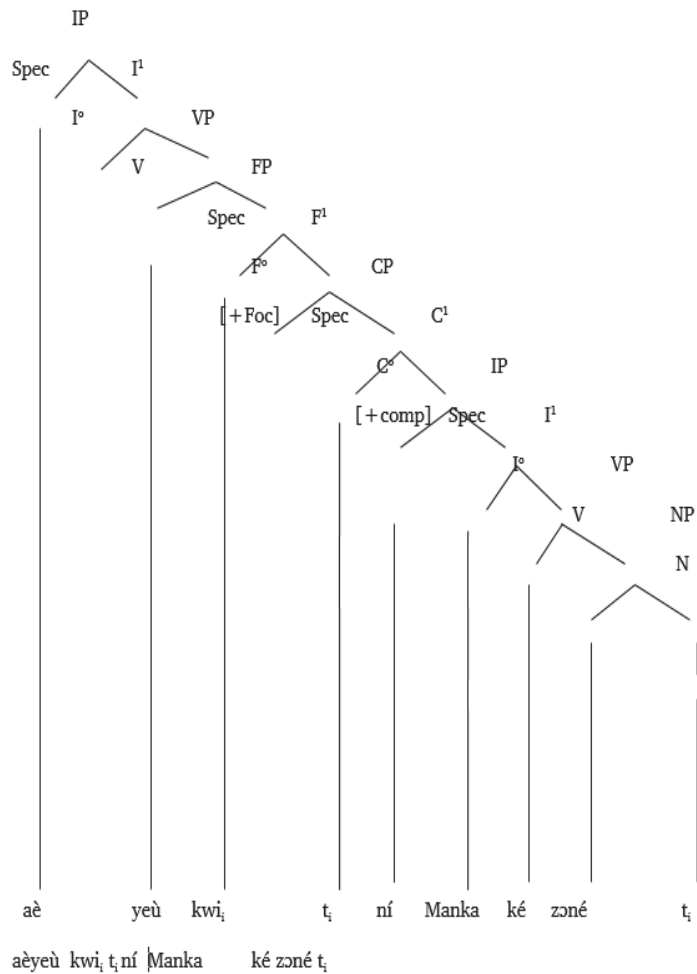


Figure (29.3) above represent the structure of both relative and focus constructions in Ngamambo. Movement is in a successive cyclic fashion, the focused, NP first of all moves to spec CP satisfying the need of a strong comp and later on moves to spec FP to check its focus feature. The movement of this focused NP is to enable it check its focus feature against the head [+Foc] feature. Thus this structure satisfies the PFI enabling the construction to converge at both PF and LF levels.

3. Conclusion

In this paper, I have been able to account for the variation in word order in Ngamambo, the language under study, by examining the syntactic operations of focalization and relativization. I examined both the relative and focus constructions of the language bringing out their similarities and differences. It was observed that both constructions differ phonetically, phonologically, morphologically and syntactically and also share some syntactic and semantic properties. This analysis then enables me provide an explanation on how movement takes place in these constructions within the particular framework, of minimalism.

Haven examined the trigger of movement, the locus of the trigger and the location of the moved constituent in relative clauses in Ngamambo, there is not much else to be said about the focus construction considering the syntactic and semantic similarities we have been able to establish above between the two constructions. As earlier observed in the relative clause, and focus constructions the speaker decides to lay emphasis on a particular element amongst others, and movement operation is applied on this particular element. Thus, considering this semantic similarity between these two construction types in the language, we can therefore claim that, like in relative clauses the +Foc feature occupying the head Foc position of FP is responsible for the trigger of movement in focus constructions. Hence, giving the fact that constituents move in order to check features, the moved focused constituent obviously moves to specified position of the focus phrase (FP) to ensure that it checks its feature within the

required configuration. The occupation of Spec FP by the focused constituent therefore enables this constituent check its focus feature against that of the head F^0 feature in a spec-head configuration.

In analyzing the focus construction in this language so far, our next pre-occupation is to account for the presence of the cleft marker which expresses a major difference between the relative and focus clause. We account for this marker looking at its composition and the role or its importance in the construction.

Taking into consideration the findings of this paper, I wish to recommend for further research the study of the presence of the relative pronoun in constructions in the language. As we have noticed, the language makes use of a single morpheme *ni* which poses as a relative marker for who, what, how, which, and when as opposed to multiple markers in other languages. I will also recommend some research on the acquisition of the relative pronoun in this language by children, bringing out the developmental stages and the various forms and constructions they will produce.

Abbreviations

FP	Focus Phrase	Spec	Specifier
PFI	Principle of Full Interpretation	Foc	Focus
PF	Phonetic Form	Rel	Relative
IP	Inflectional Phrase	NP	Noun Phrase
CP	Complementizer Phrase	VP	Verb Phrase
Comp	Complementizer	LF	Logical Form
t_i	Trace indicating the moved environment		
i	Trace indicating the landing site of the moved constituent		

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ⁱIt is a dialect of Moghamo spoken in the Santa Sub-Division in the Mezam Division some 32 kilometers Southwest of Bamenda; the headquarters of the Region.

ⁱⁱIt is a strong head position which bears the (+Rel) that triggers the movement of the relativized constituent.

ⁱⁱⁱIt is a coastal Bantu language spoken in some parts of the Kupe-Manenguba Division of the Southwest Region of Cameroon.

^{iv}It is a Malayo-Polynesian language of the Philippines.

Pronouns and case marking in Katcha

Christine Waag, SIL SUB, Nairobi Kenya

I. Introduction

Katcha is one of the Kadu languages which are classified as Nilo-Saharan. The home area is south of Kadugli in the province of Kordofan in Sudan. Katcha is a tonal language, but in this paper is only marked where such data was available. Most of the data I have received is in written form. The different forms of the verbs are not checked for their phonetic values.ⁱ The basic word order in Katcha is SVO. Thus, the subject can usually be identified by its position before the verb. The pronominal elements in Katcha are comprised of independent pronouns and prefixes on the verb that refer to the subject of the clause (subject reference markers). The prefixes on the verb differentiate 4 forms, of which 3rd person singular masculine is unmarked, whereas 3rd person singular feminine, 1st or 2nd person singular, and all plurals are marked as listed in Table 30.1

	Prefix	example	gloss
1/2s	n-	n-anaŋŋa	I / you(sg) gave
3sM		anaŋŋa	he gave
3sF	m-	m-anaŋŋa	she gave
plural	k-	k-anaŋŋa	we / you(pl) / they gave

Table 30.1: Subject reference prefixes

The independent pronouns differentiate eight forms for each set: 1st, 2nd, and 3rd person singular and plural, masculine

and feminine in 3rd person singular and inclusive and exclusive in 1st person plural. These forms will be introduced later.

This paper will first discuss the marking of case in Katcha. Then the independent pronouns with accompanying case distinctions will be listed with examples. In the last section, subject reference markers in various grammatical clauses will be introduced.

A. Case marking in Katcha

According to Stassen (2003), a case language is a language that differentiates agent and patient of a transitive clause by morphological marking on the noun. He states that '(a) language is cased if the difference between core arguments NP's is obligatorily marked by way of bound morphology on these argument NP's' (Stassen 2003:803). In this strict sense, Katcha is probably not a case language – there may be tonal case marking, but the available data is not sufficient to determine the role of tone. König (2008:5) states that:

A case system is an inflectional system of marking nouns or noun phrases for the type of relationship they bare to their heads. Inflectional systems are expressed by affixes, tone, accent shift, or root reduction; and positional systems are included only insofar as they encode core participants such as S, A, and O. Languages which fulfil this definition will be treated as having grammaticalized case.

In this, S, A, and O is defined according to Blake:

A: The agent argument of a transitive verb or any argument that is treated in the same way grammatically. (Blake 1994: XV)

P: The patient argument of a transitive verb or any argument that is treated in the same way grammatically. (Blake 1994: XVI)

S: The single argument of a one-place verb. (Blake 1994: XVII)

These are the 'core participants' while all other participants are 'peripheral' (see Blake 1994:199 and 204)

The core grammatical relations between the only argument of semantically monovalent verbs (the subject S) and the two arguments of semantically bivalent verbs (A and O) can be

coded by case marking, indexation, and/or constituent order (see Creissels, Dimmendaal, Frajzyngier, and König 2008, p.86).

Katcha morphology does not necessarily differentiate between the core arguments A and O, in that a marker for A is optional. However, it differentiates participants by subject reference markers. Further, there are pronouns that differ according to role, as can be seen in (1).

- (1a) iʔi a-naŋŋa oʔo aʔa.
 3sM 3sM.PFV-give 2s 1s
 'He gave you to me.'
- (1b) oʔo na-naŋŋa aʔa iini.
 2s 1/2s.PFV-give 1s 3sM
 'You gave me to him.'

The 1st and 2nd person singular pronouns do not differentiate between agent, patient and recipient in a 'giving' situation, whereas 3rd person pronouns are different for the recipient.

According to König (2008:7, 8), the most common systems with regard to marking the core participants are the accusative system and the ergative system. 'The nominative of an accusative system is prototypically the morphologically unmarked form, the functionally unmarked form, and the form used in citation.' Further, König (ibid: 8) adds that, 'in Africa, especially East Africa, there is a third type of importance, called marked-nominative' This is a system like the accusative system, but with the nominative morphologically marked and the object unmarked, and the accusative used in citation. Katcha most resembles this last type, though the subject is not obligatorily marked, but only marked in special contexts such as change of subject (within a paragraph) or in dependent clauses. The following demonstrates the Katcha system with examples.

The (direct) object in Katcha is never marked for case, but only marked for number. The noun *laala* – "children" in (2) and the pronoun *o'o* – "you sg." , in (3) are objects.

- (2) kandedme m- eyi, m- iɲpi laala a- kandedme
 co-wife 3sF-died 3sF-left children with- co-wife
 kuɓu,
 down

‘(There was) a co-wife (that) died and left (her) children to a co-wife.’

- (3) ara aʔa tabbu oʔo a- kadaka.
 will 1s INF.beat 2s with- ax
‘I will beat you with the axe.’

Subjects, such as *kandedme* – “co-wife” in (2) and the pronoun *aʔa* – “I” in (3), also do not have to be marked. In simple clauses like those in (2) and (3), the subject is morphologically unmarked and the word order SVO shows the grammatical relations of the core participants.

As in (2), the verbs carry a subject reference marker (unless the form is infinitive as in (3)). The subject S in an intransitive clause and the more agent-like argument A in a transitive clause are treated the same in Katcha.

Typically, there is no explicit subject noun in a clause but the subject is referred to only by reference marking on the verb as in (2b). If a simple unmarked subject noun is used, it is usually introducing a new participant, as in (2a). Nevertheless, subject pronouns are frequently used for first and second person, as in (3) above and in (4) and (5).

- (4) oʔo na-kolo aya m-üüdü,
 2s 1/2s-tell mum F-2s.POSS
‘you can tell your mother,’

- (5) uɲɲo tiido kurfudaada, uɲɲo tiido ɓadala,
 1pEX dig roots, sp. 1pEX dig fruit, sp.
 uɲɲo tiido tangeeda,
 1pEX dig plant, sp.

‘we grow (lit.: ‘dig’) the Kurfudaada roots, Badalla fruit, and Tangkeeda plants’

- (6) jëeshë ... andubbu uñño aa muguufi dö,
 soldiers as.beat 1pEX with sticks very
'The soldiers ... (started to) hit us with sticks,

As mentioned, the forms of subject pronouns do not usually differ from the forms of object pronouns, as *uñño* is an object in (6) and a subject in (5). They are differentiated by word order (the object following the verb).

Nevertheless, Katcha has the option of marking the subject. This is done by a prepositional short *a-* or long *aa-* to the subject, as in (7) to (9). This morpheme usually indicates a change of subject or marked topic. The tone on this optional subject marker may be high, but the data is not sufficient to confirm the use of tone.

- (7) á-rasíít ingidé ñllí iʔi andürünö,
 SBJ-Rashid PFV.be.here but 3sM PFV.had.run
'Rashid was there but he had run away'

(7) Is the answer to the question, 'Is Rashid around?' Thus, Rashid is a marked topic; the topic is put in subject position with the subject marker *á-*.

In (8) and (9) the subject markers *a-/aa-* indicate a change of subject. The subject "other people" of the second clause in (8) is contrasted with the subject "you (pl)" of the first clause. It may be translated 'and other people' or 'but other people'. Both clauses together form one relative clause starting with [*naada*] and ending with [*no*]. This relative clause follows the subject [*ñeeli*] of the third clause, which it refers to.

- (8) ñeeli n-aada kad-ooye bītiñño, aa-kadu
 wine which-2p DEP.INF-drink now SBJ-people
 öccö anu kide no, tüm mü eege ka m-iini.
 other refuse it REL poison 3p to F-3s.POSS
*'The wine that you are drinking nowadays, and (which)
 other people refuse (it), it is poison!'*

- (9) na- Hamata Nüilë k-ántafinne ka-lá kánna, á-Öncö
 of- Hamad Nile PL-as.burn in-room there, SBJ-Onjo
 abuna subááká úúrúnö, áá-kátu t-aabú í?i,...
 PFV.break window escaping, SBJ-people INF-hit 3sM
*'Those of Hamad Nile, as they burned there in their room,
 Onjo broke the window escaping, (so) the soldiers shot him,
 ...'*

In (9) the subject 'Onjo' of the second clause is specifying one who does not burn with the others in the room, but escapes, while the subject 'people (soldiers)' in the third clause is different all together.

A system, in which only certain objects are inflected for case while the other objects and the subject are unmarked, has become known as Differential Object Marking (see Bosson: 1985 and De Swart: 2007). In Katcha it is not the object but the subject which may be marked for case, which may likewise be called Differential Subject Marking. More data would be needed to further specify the use or absence of this marker.

Still, there are other morphemes in Katcha that distinguish participants. Phonetically they have the form of prefixes on the noun. Formally they can be interpreted as prepositions or conjunctions.

The most common morpheme of this kind is the locative marker *k(a)-*, as in (10) and (11). It is used for the meanings "at", "in", "on", and the directional meaning 'to'.

- (10) kadu k-ándajö ïssi ka-mansála,
 people PL-IPFV.as.saw fire in-market.place
'As the people saw fire (wood fires) in the market place,'
 (11) n-ayaana n-amana ka-tolo,
 1/2sⁱⁱ-milk 1/2s-put in-calabash
'I/you milk and pour into a calabash'

The directional meaning 'to' can be expressed with different forms, depending on the context. The verb *co* – 'go' can have the destination as a direct object, as in (12).

- (12) n-ungeene n-aco booroma-feelee unño-üüdü ka-düile
 1/2s-went 1/2s-go.to camp of-winter it.is.there-2s in-bush

'we use to go to the camp we have during winter in the bush'
 This verb may be grammaticalized for the direction 'away' as in (13).

- (13) m-uurugulaala y-oono ca-kuḅḅa
 3sF-sent children PL-3sF.POSS to-far
'(and) sent her children far away'

In (14) a different case form is used as the directional meaning "to" with the verb *co* – "go", namely the prefix 'a-'.
 (14) aʔatungeenean-eema n-aaco a-füḍö.

- 1s INF.leave with-things 1/2s-go to-kitchen
'I go with the things to the kitchen'

If a complex movement as in (14) is to be expressed, two verbs are needed. With the first verb in (14), *an-* "with" is used to mark something carried along. This morpheme is also often used to mark instrument, as in (15).

- (15) a-caṅgó ká-ndááfadá an-acala ándadö.
 SBJ-Changgo DEP-as.returning with-bicycle as.came
'As Changgo returned from home on a bicycle,'

In (16) the partitive 'at the head' is expressed with this morpheme *an-*.

- (16) kīrī ka-dorrééné nc-índínīsīan-úúdü,
 then DEP-INF.be.met with-gun at-head
'Only to be met with a gun at (his) head,'

The morpheme *nc-* in (16) is used to express accompaniment. Whereas *an-* is used for something carried along as in (14), the participant marked with *nc-* is used for the same level of agency. In (16) 'the gun and (the subject referent) Kudulapa met each other'. This is especially clear in (17), where the co-ordination can be translated as 'and'.

- (17) kīrī ka-deefe tübbü Mööjö Müjüürī kide
 then still INF.shoot Moojo Mudeer in.it
 nc-örrē nca-Maraafiini,
 with-brother with-Maraafiini
'To shoot Mojo Mujuuri there and (his) brother Marafini'

Note: Both nouns, *örrë* and *Maraafiini*, are marked with *nc*-, which indicates that they refer to one and the same participant.

Finally, a benefactive can be expressed with *aa*- as in (18), where the addressee of a speech is treated as the beneficiary. When tone was marked on this prefix in the available data, it was low. The pronoun form of this case can be seen in (19).

- (18) *kirī* *ka-ndiki* *aa-tandagönö* *ingide*
 then DEP-as.say for-of.one is.there
 'Then they ordered one of them who was there ...'

- (19) *m-agorđe* *eene* *k-alimi*.
 3sF-PFV.mix for.3p PL-PFV.drink
 'She mixed for them to drink'

A possessive construction is formed with a reference prefix on the possessor, which refers to the possessed entity, as in (20). Here the female marker *m(a)*- is used since *bönse* – “well” is femaleⁱⁱⁱ.

- (20) *k-ödö* *ndáma bónsé* **má**-*Kééle Kuwa*,
 PL-PFV.come from well **of** Keele Kowa
 'They came from the well of Keele Kowa'

The marker for male and plural possessed entities is *y(a)*-, as in (21). Often there is an additional morpheme *ti*- or *ta(n)* - before the possessive marker, as in (21). The significance of this morpheme is not yet clear.

- (21) *m-oono* *kata-naŋŋa laala* **tiya**-*kandemme*
 so.that-she PROSP-give children **of**- co-wife
 'So that she could give it to the co-wife's children.'

For mass nouns or an unspecified plural, it is *n(a)*-, as in *kibiini n-eede* – “my goats”. The possessive marker *n(a)* - for unspecified plural is also used with the meaning “those of” as in (22).

- (22) **na**- *Hamada Nīlë* *k-ándafinne* *ka-lá* *kánna*,
 of- *Hamad Nile* PL-as.burn in-room there
 'Those of Hamad Nile, while they burned there in their room.'

B. Independent pronouns

As mentioned, there are two sets of root forms for independent pronouns, and each set has eight forms. Table 30.2 shows these two sets. The (direct) object pronouns represent one set. The other set is found in the locative pronouns with the locative prefix *k-*.

	1sg.	2sg.	3sg.M	3sg.F	1pl.excl.	1pl.incl.	2pl.	3pl.
object	aʔa	oʔo	iʔi	oogo	uŋŋo	aŋŋa	aaga	eege
locative	k-eɗe	k-üdü	k-ini	k-ono	k-ïdï	k-aca	k-ada	k-ene

Table 30.2: Root forms of independent pronouns

When pronouns are combined with the (case) markers discussed above, the sets of root forms often get mixed, as can be seen in Table 30.3. The case markers combined with first person plural pronouns most often take the root form of the object (*-aʔa*, *-uŋŋo*, and *-aŋŋa*). The other root forms of first person plural (*-aca* and *-ada*) are only used in the locative pronoun and in the possessive pronoun. On the other hand, the combination with third person most often takes the root form as the locative pronouns (*-ini*, *-ono*, and *-ene*). Only the object pronoun and the instrument pronoun use the root forms *-iʔi* and *-oogo* in 3rd person singular. The recipient/benefactive (including recipient of giving) may use either form for each person, depending on the context. The available data is not sufficient to determine in which context which form is preferred. Table 30.3 shows the different sets and the respective markers on explicit nouns. In the rows *recipient of giving* and *recipient/benefactive* the forms with examples in the data are listed.

	1s	2s	3sM	3sF	1pEX	1pIN	2p	3p	noun
object	aʔa	oʔo	iʔi	oogo	uŋŋo	aŋŋa	aaga	eege	Ø
locative	kede	kudu	kini	kono	kidi	kaca	kada	kene	k(a)-
recipient of giving	aʔa	oʔo	iini	oono	uŋŋo	aŋŋa	aaga	eene, eege	
recipient / benef.	eede	üüdü	iini	oono	uŋŋo, iidi	aŋŋa	aada, aaga	eene	aa-
direction to (away)	caʔa, aʔa	coʔo, oʔo	ciini, iini	coono, oono	cuŋŋo	caŋŋa	caaga	ceene	c(a), co
accomp. “with”	ncaʔa	ncoʔo	nciini	ncoono	ncuŋŋo	ncanŋa	ncaaga	nceene	nc(a)-
Instrum. “with”	anaʔa	anoʔo	iini, aniʔi	anoogo	anuŋŋo	anaŋŋa	anaaga	aneege	a(n)-
possess.	yeede meede neede	yüüdü müüdü nüüdü	yiini miini niini	yoono moonoo noonoo	yüüdi müüdi nüüdi	yaca maca naca	yaada maada naada	yeene meene neene	y(a)- m(a)- n(a)-

Table 30.3: Independent Pronouns

Several examples of object pronouns in natural text have been given before, as in (1), (3), (6), etc. (23) to (25) are examples for the use of the locative.

(23) ödö ömödi küdü

3sM.PFV.come man LOC.2s

‘(There) comes a man to you’

(24) aɖa öödö kuɖu aaco kidi k-eere,

that 3sM.IPFV.come down 3sM.IPFV.go LOC.1pEXLOC-behind

‘(... called him), that he should come down behind us’

(25) a-miimö yiv-üüdü taleele küdü ka-bügöörī

SBJ-mother PL-2sF.POSS INF.visit LOC.2sF LOC-house

‘and your mother will visit you in the house’

In (23) and (24) the locatives give the goal of the movement, while in (25) it is the static place of the visit. In (24) the two locatives *us* and *behind* refer to the same location. The same applies to the locatives *you* and *house* in (25). The words marked as a locative within one clause specify just one place, as the same case marker within one clause refers to the same

entity. If the location is far away, a *c-* may be added to the pronoun, as in (26) and

- (26) *m-uurugu eege c-oono*
 3sF-IPFV.send 3p to-3sF
'she sent them to her (far away)'
- (27) *ara a?a tuduga na-nunguco?o*
 FUT 1s INF.take 1/2s-give to.2s
'I will take and give to you.'

The same form of pronouns is sometimes used with speech verbs, as in (28) and (29, Mark 2:19). Only, the occurrence in the available data is too rare to determine when this form and when the recipient form (without *c-*) is used.

- (28) *ara o?o teemaga ca?a alla ciini*
 FUT 2s INF.tell to.1s or to.3sM
'Will you tell me or him?'
- (29) *a-Yasu tapadagatamma ceene iiki eene, "..."*
 SBJ-Jesus INF.take words to.3p 3sM.PFV.say 3p
'Jesus answered them, telling them, ...'

The recipient of a giving situation was introduced in (1). Further examples from the texts are (30) and (31).

- (30) *afada n-anaŋŋa uŋŋo ba!*
 again 1/2s-PFV.give to.1pEX please
'Give it to us again, please!'
- (31) *m-anaŋŋa eene m-agorɖe eene k-alimi.*
 3sF-PFV.give to.3p 3sF-PFV.mix to.3p PL-PFV.drink
'She gave them and had mixed for them to drink.'

In (30) the object form *uŋŋo* is used for the recipient. In (31), the pronoun form of the other set *eene* – “them” is used as the recipient of the giving as well as the beneficiary of the mixing.

- (32) *taman-agilna ereere kubu iidi k-oona.*
 even-3sM.PFV.stretch muscles down 1pEX LOC-body
'It even made us feel relaxed and our bodies are comfortable'

now.”

The pronoun *ĩĩdĩ* – “for us” in (32) belongs to the same set as *eene* in (31) (as opposed to *uŋŋo* in (30)). Here, *us* may be the beneficiary of the muscle stretching and the (calming) down in the body.

For accompaniment as in (17), here repeated for convenience, the prefix *nc(a)-* is used. The pronoun *nciini* – “with him” would replace *with (his) brother Marafini*.

- (17) *kĩrĩ* *ka-deefe* *tũbbũ* *Mööjö Mũjũũrĩ* *kide*
then still INF.shoot Moojo Mudeer in.it
nc-örrë nca-Maraafiini,
with-brother with-Marafiini
‘To shoot Mojo Mujuuri there and (his) brother Marafini’

Other examples for the use of the pronoun with *nc-* are (33) and (34). Again it marks the participant who is joining in the action of the agent.

- (33) *k-afada* *k-aɖuga* *oʔo* *k-emmi* *nc-oʔo*
PL-again PL-PFV.take2s PL-PFV.sit with-2s
‘Again, they will sit with you, ...’
- (34) *n-aafa* *tadardaana ncaana* *kodo* *nc-iini* *a-tumma*
1/2s-not.letINF.argue dispersedup with-3s by-words
‘Don’t immediately argue with him in words.’

If the level of activity is less equal, accompaniment is expressed with the prefix *an-* instead of *nc-*, as in (35).

- (35) *aayu* *an-oogo* *fa* *ka-laala*
IMP.come with-her IMP.let LOC-children
‘Bring her, leave the children (let them stay there).’

The prefix *an-* is equally used for a participant who is suffering from the action (malefactive), as in (36).

- (36) *a-ömödĩ* *ka-daagálta,* *k-ũppö* *uŋŋo aniʔi* ?
if.SBJ-man DEP-INF.be.wrong PL-do 1pEX with.3sM
‘If this man does something wrong, what do you do to him?’

Note: (36) is semi-direct reported speech. Thus, the narrator uses *we* instead of *you* as he was among the people spoken to.

The possessive pronouns use a prefix referring to the possessed item: *y-* for male and specific/salient plural (as *biibalayeeete* – “**my** son” and *laalayeeete* – “**my** children”), *m-* for female (as *badaadameete* – ‘**my** daughter’), and *n-* for unspecified or insignificant plural or mass nouns (as *kibiinineete* – ‘**my** goats’). The following examples explain the use.

- (37) puppa y-eene kand-ödö ...
 father M.POSS-3p as.INF-come
 ‘When their father came, ...’

In (37), the prefix *y-* in *yeene* is referring to the father of the children who came home. If instead the mother came home, the prefix *m-* would be used.

- (38) tábbú mansála n-eene
 INF.attack market U.POSS-3p
 ‘While they were attacking the market,’
 (39) tábbú mansála m-eene
 INF.attack market F-POSS.3p
 ‘to attack their market’

In (38) the prefix *n-* refers to the attacking of the market as *their attacking*. If it referred to the market as *their market*, the feminine prefix would be used, as in (39), since *market* is female.

As with the possessive prefixes on nouns, the additional morpheme *ti-* or *ta(n)* - before the possessive marker may also be used with pronouns, as in (40) and (41).

- (40) m-anaŋŋa a-laala tiy-oono
 3sM-PFV.give to-children PL.POSS-3sF
 ‘(and) gave it to her children.’

- (41) mīimöy-oono ka-naŋŋa a-laala tiy-iini eyi ya, ...
 thing M.REL-3sF DEP-PFV.give to-children PL.POSS-3sM die REL
 ‘The things you gave to my children to kill them, ...’ (semi-direct reported speech by a man)

C. Connective pronouns

Pronouns can take a conjunction prefix so that they become the subject pronoun of a dependent clause. For example, the English relative pronoun ‘that’ is a subject pronoun in the dependent clause ‘the glass that broke ...’

The default way of joining clauses and sentences in Katcha is by juxtaposition, as in (5), here repeated for convenience.

- (5) uŋŋo tiido kurfudaada, uŋŋo tiido badala, uŋŋo tiido tanjeeda,
1pEX dig roots, sp. 1pEX dig fruit, sp. 1pEX dig plant, sp.
‘we grow (lit.: ‘dig’) the Kurfudaada roots, Badalla fruit, and
Tangkeeda plants’

Connectors at clause level are usually either verbs or they are prefixes on the subject noun or pronoun. An example for a connector verb is *kiri/ikiri* – ‘then’, as in (42). The verb following this connector verb always has the dependent clause marker *ka-*.

- (42) m-ikiri ka-d-eefe ta-duga-ya, ma-da-g-ümmünü eege
3sF-then DEP-INF-go INF-took-DET 3sF-INF-PST-call 3p
‘Then she went and took this poison and called them (to come).’

If connectors are attached to the subject noun or pronoun, the logical relations between clauses are expressed by different subject prefixes; possibly with different tone patterns on the subject (tone is not marked on most of the texts). These subject prefixes have corresponding sets of pronouns. Table 30.4 gives an overview of the subject pronouns, which introduce a conditional, a purpose, or a relative clause. As can be seen in comparison with Table 30.2, the root forms of these subject pronouns most often resemble the locative forms, not the object forms. Only the 1st and 2nd plural subjects of the purpose clause may alternatively have the object forms.

	1s	2s	3sM	3sF	1pEX	1pIN	2p	3p	noun
if/when + SBJ	kede, ede	küdü, üdü	kini, ini	kono, (o)ono	kidī, īdī	kaca, aca	kada, ada	kene, ene	k(a)-, a-/aa-
so.that + SBJ	meedé	Müüdú	miini	moonó	munḡó, müidí	maḡjá, macá	maagá, maadá	meené	m(a)-
that/ which, REL+SBJ (relative pron.)	yeede meede neede	yüüdü müüdü nüüdü	yiini miini niini	yoono moonó noono	yīdī müidī nūidī	yaca maca naca	yaada maada naada	yeene meene neene	y(a)- m(a)- n(a)-

Table 30.4: Connective subject pronouns

Examples (43) to (55) demonstrate the use of the connective subject pronouns and compare them with the respective subject marking in clauses with subject nouns.

The conditional or temporal clauses, which translate with ‘if’ or ‘when’, use the bare pronouns with or without the prefix *k-*, as in (43) to (46). (47) to (49) show examples of explicit subjects with the prefix. Whether the meaning is more conditional or more temporal depends on the context. It is not clear when the form with *k-* and when the form without *k-* are required. In (44) and (45) the difference marks a contrast such as with ‘but’ (44) and (45) are taken from successive sentences in one text.

- (43) ono taalo m-anaḡḡa iini, ...
 If/when.3sF not 3sF.give 3sM
 ‘If you (fem.) do not give it to me (male), ...’(semi-direct speech,
 thus third person – lit.: ‘If she does not give it to him’)
- (44) ene ka-co aduna oʔo ka-füdqö,
 If/when.3p PL-go PFV.find 2s in-kitchen
 ‘If/when they find you in the kitchen,’
- (45) kene ka-co k-aduna buuguka-da-ḡoro,
 If/when.3p PL-go PL-PFV.find place DEP-INF-be.dirty
 ‘(but) if/when they find the place dirty,’
- (46) Hamada Níílē kiní ká-ndáfínne
 Hamad Nile if/when.he DEP-PFV.having.burned
 ‘when Hamad Nile was burned’

In (46) the subject is doubled, the explicit noun used before the connective subject pronoun. Like the pronouns, the subject prefix can also be with and without *k-*, as shown in (47) to (49).

In the forms without *k-*, the long prefix *aa-* is used for plural nouns as in (48), and the short *a-* with singular nouns as in (49).

- (47) ka-jëeshë ka-ndagümmünü i?i
 if/when-soldiers DEP-had.called 3sM
 'When the soldiers had called him,'

- (48) aa-kadu ta-ödö ka-bügöörī ka-pori
 if/when-people INF-come to-house to-husband
 tiy-üüdü kīdī,
 M-2s.POSS in.house
 'If(/when/and) people come to the house of your husband,'

- (49) a-caṅgó ká-ndááfadá an-acala ándadö.
 if/when.SBJ-Changgo DEP-as.returning with-bicycle as.came
 'As Changgo returned from home on a bicycle,'

A purpose clause *so that* is introduced with the prefix *m(a)-* on the subject or is introduced with a subject pronoun, such as *moonö* – “so that she” in (19), here repeated for convenience. It can also mark a causative clause as in (50).

- (19) **m**-oono kata-naṅṅa laala tiyakandemme
 so that-3sFPROSP-give Children of co-wife
 'So that she could give it to the co-wife's children.'

- (50) ikīrī eere y-üüdü k-afara 'do
 3sM.then name sM.POSS-2s DEP-cry very
 m-üüdü k-aṗooro ...
 because-2s DEP-steal
 'Then your name will be called a lot because you steal ...'

There is only one example in the available texts which may be the purpose prefix on an explicit noun. (51) shows this grammar.

- (51) íkírī k-ürünó **ma**-díśó caa mansala,
 3sM.then DEP-escape **so that**-running go.to market
 'He then went off in a run to get to the market,'

Literally, (51) may be translated, ‘he then went off so that the running gets him to the market’. The subject pronouns of the relative clause have the same forms as the possessive pronouns: the prefix *y-* is used for male or specific (or salient) plural, *m-* for female, and *n-* for unspecified or insignificant plural. Thus, the relativiser, which is the prefix of the relative pronoun, depends on the thing or person it refers to. It introduces the relative clause and is repeated at the end.

Relative clauses:

- (52) ... ka-niimö tiya agudaana ya.
 for-thing M.which be.important REL
‘... for a very important matter’ (lit.: ‘for something that is (very) important’)

- (53) jëeshë y-iiiti k-eere ya andubbu uŋŋo
 soldiers who-1pEX at-behind REL as.beat 1pEX
 aa muguufi dö,
 with sticks very
‘those soldiers behind us (lit.: whom we were behind) started to hit us with sticks,’

The relativiser *(ti)y(a)- ... ya* in (52) and (53) refers to something male. To describe something or someone female, the relative clause would have *m(a)- ... mo*, and mass nouns would have *(ta)n(a)- ... no* or *(tan)n(a)- ... no*, as in (8). In (52), the subject of the relative clause is the referent. When the subject of the relative clause is not the referent, the first part of the relativiser attaches to the subject as in (53) and (54), with the relative pronoun *yiiiti* – “that we” or *naada* – “that you” plural.

This relative clause marking can embrace more than one clause, as in (54), repeated from (8).

- (54) ŋeeli n-aada kad-ooye biitiŋŋö, aa-kadu öccö
 wine which-2p DEP.INF-drink now SBJ-people other
 anu kide no, tümmü eege ka m-iini.
 refuse it REL poison 3p to F-3s.POSS
‘The wine that you are drinking nowadays, and (which) other people refused (it), it is poison!’

The main clause in (54) is *The wine is poison*. The rest of this sentence is formed by two joined relative clauses describing *wine*. They are joined with the markers *n(a)- ... no*. The *aa-* marks a new subject, the subject *people* of the second relative clause, since it differs from the subject of the first relative clause. For joining a same subject relative clause, the relativiser may be repeated as in (55).

(55) "Wallayi, ömödi ya adangodo ya aganna
by God man M.that PFV.pass.up M.that PFV.be.there
kanna ya übbü i?i i?i ti."
there REL PFV.shoot 3sM 3sM (polite)
"By God, the man that went up there and was there has been shot (I shot him)."

(use of semi-direct speech, which is third person instead of first person pronouns)

In (52) and (55) the subject of the relative clause is the same as the noun it refers to (*nüimö* – "thing" and *ömödi* – "man"). Thus the relative clause does not need a subject pronoun.

II. Summary/conclusion

Katcha distinguishes the participants of a clause by word order (SVO), by reference marking on the verb, and by prefixes to nouns and pronouns. The prefixes to nouns and pronouns have been called case marking in this paper.

The object of a transitive clause always has the unmarked form, which is also used in citation. The more agent-like argument of the transitive clause, as well as the subject of the intransitive clause, may have the same form as the object, or may have a marked form (differential subject marking). Therefore Katcha most resembles the languages with a marked nominative. The marked form may be used for the subject being the topic, or for a change of subject, as well as for the subject of subordinate clauses. Additionally, some subordinate clauses employ distinctive prefixes to the subject, instead of conjunctions, to clarify the relation between clauses, since the default way of joining clauses is by juxtaposition.

The independent pronouns differentiate eight forms regarding person and number: first, second and third person with singular and plural; male and female in third person singular; and inclusive and exclusive in first person plural.

There are two basic sets of these eight forms which are used according to case. The object uses only one of these sets. The marked subject takes the other set. The subject has the same form as the object when it is unmarked. The marked subject set is represented in the locative case with an additional locative prefix. All pronouns take the same case marking prefixes as the respective nouns. Likewise, the subject pronouns of dependent clauses take the prefixes of respective subject nouns that are used to clarify the logical relations between the clauses.

This article can only give a little foretaste of the interesting features of the Katcha language. Much more research is needed and is worth doing.

Abbreviations

1, 2, 3	1 st , 2 nd , 3 rd person	p, s	Plural, Singular
DEP	Dependent clause	DET	Determiner
EX	Exclusive	FUT	Future
F	Feminine	IPFV	Imperfective
IN	Inclusive	LOC	Locative
INF	Infinitive	M	Masculine
PFV	Perfective	POSS	Possessive
PL	Plural	PST	Past
REL	Relativisor	SBJ	Subject

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ⁱThis article is primarily based on texts that the author received from colleagues who were working with the Katcha. The texts were revised by the author while working with a Katcha speaker in 2011. I wish to thank the colleagues, especially Russel Norton and Tim Stirtz, for their support in getting the data, and the Katcha informant for his assistance.

ⁱⁱThe subject reference prefix is referring to first or second person singular, but in the free translation first plural was given. – ‘we’ in (11) and in (12) is referred to with second singular, as the impersonal ‘you’ in English.

ⁱⁱⁱKatcha nouns have gender which is seen in possessive constructions, relative clauses, and the reference markers on the verb.

^{iv}In this possessive pronoun, the plural reference y- is used instead of the feminine singular m-, although it is translated ‘your mother’ and not ‘your mothers’. The y- may refer to the people (family) of the mother who are the subject of the previous clauses in this sentence.

Question reinforcer and question formation in Bakókó

Gaston Bessala, University of Yaounde I-Cameroon

Abstract

Generally speaking, question formation procedures differ according to languages. Some languages may optionally move the *wh*-element or let it stay in-situ, that is, sentence finally; others obligatorily move *wh*-elements and in the last set of languages, the *wh*-element remains at sentence final site. It will be noticed that Bakókó belongs to the group which can freely move some *wh*-elements whereas other can only appear in-situ. The study of these different phenomena in question formation will constitute the main concern of this paper. It will also be observed that there are cases where the *wh*-element is fronted with the showing up of a new dimension namely *the Illocutionary Force*. Instead of considering the morpheme held by this head as being part of the CP - domain as illocutionary morphemes in other languages, it rather pertains to the Inflectional Domain playing the role of an interrogative reinforcer. This item is then hosted as will be presented by a reinforcer phrase. To carry out this study, we rely on works done by some linguists such as Bailey (1966), Helminger (1972), Ittman (1978), Jacobs (1986, 1991), Thurmair (1989), Nseme (1991), Abraham (2009b), Kenmogne (2000), Zimmermann (2004a,b), Durrleman (2005), Coniglio and Zegrean (2010), Rizzi (2013) and Biloa (2013a, b) amongst others. The first section of this article gives an insight of how the language is organized; the second section examines question morphemes and question formation in Bakókó. Then, we will look at other morphemes in some languages in the aim of building a kind of comparison which will help us identifying

ɲga. Lastly, we will study other types of question formation such as multiple questions, yes/no question and question tag, since it is attested in the language.

This study is carried out under the Cartographic approach. It is worth mentioning that the Cartographic approach is assumed to be an *extension* of minimalism, and that the two approaches are perfectly compatible. But, cartography is not a theory per se it is 'the attempt to draw maps as precise and detailed as possible of syntactic configurations [...] It is a research topic asking the question: what are the right structural maps for natural language syntax?' (Cinque and Rizzi, 2008:42) cited in (Bilola 2013:407).

Keywords: *illocutionary phrase, interrogative phrase, Reinforcer Phrase, Question tag.*

Résumé

De façon générale, la formation des questions diffère dépendamment des langues. Certaines langues de façon optionnelle déplacent l'élément *Qu-*. D'autres par contre le déplacent de façon obligatoire. Dans le dernier groupe, l'élément *Qu-* reste in situ. La langue Bakókó appartient au groupe des langues qui, de façon optionnelle déplacent l'interrogeur. Il est cependant à remarquer que lorsque l'interrogeur est déplacé en Bakókó pour l'initial de la phrase, une nouvelle dimension doit être considérée à savoir *le renforcement interrogatif* 'Interrogative renforcer' qui est réalisée à travers l'apparition du morphème *ɲga*. De même, nous démontrerons également que contrairement à d'autres langues qui font apparaître le morphème illocutoire au sein du syntagme du complémenteur, le Bakókó le place plutôt au sein du syntagme inflectionnel, occupant ainsi la tête du syntagme renforceur. Pour mener à bien cette recherche, nous nous baserons sur les études réalisées par certains linguistes à l'instar de Bailey (1966), Helming (1972), Ittman (1978), Jacobs (1986, 1991), Thurmaier (1989), Nseme (1991), Abraham (2009b), Kenmogne (2000), Zimmermann (2004a, b),

Durrleman (2005), Coniglio et Zegrean (2010), Rizzi (2013) et Biloa (2013a, b) parmi d'autres. La première section de cet article donne un aperçu général de la langue ; la seconde section examine les morphèmes employés dans la formation des questions en Bakókó et les stratégies de formation de questions. Ensuite, analysant le comportement de certains morphèmes dans d'autres langues, nous allons dégager la nature du morphème *ɲga* en Bakókó. Enfin, nous étudierons d'autres types de questions répertoriés dans la langue tels les questions multiples, et les questions *-echo*. Pour mener cette étude, nous nous baserons sur l'approche cartographique qui est considérée comme une extension du minimalisme. Toutefois, la cartographie n'est pas une théorie en tant que tel. C'est, comme le pensent (Cinque et Rizzi 2008 :42) cités par (Biloa2013 :407) 'une tentative de dessiner les cartes des configurations syntaxiques aussi précises et détaillées que possibles. C'est un sujet de recherche qui pose la question de savoir quelles sont les cartes structurales correctes pour la syntaxe de la langue naturelle'.

Language classification

Bakókó belongs to the Basaa group. According to ALCAM, Bakókó is a Niger-Kordofan language, from Niger-Congo group, Benoue-Congo family, Bantoid subfamily, from Bantu branch and from Bantu Equatorial North sub-branch. Guthrie (1967) classifies it under Basaa-beti group in A 436 whereas ALCAM puts it in A402. The population speaking this language is estimated at around 50 000 inhabitants.

Word orderⁱ

Bakókó exhibits a chart of seven long vowel and eight short vowels. It also operates a number of 22 phonemic consonant underlyingly. As far as tones are concerned, Bakókó has maintained the two tones coming from Proto-Bantu namely the high tone and the low tone. The combination of both tones gives rise to the rising and the falling tones which are also attested in the language. Bakoôkoô is an SVO language. The example below attests this fact.

- (1) Songe à g sòṅgòò káátì
 Songe SM P0 read book
 ‘Songe reads a book’

From this declarative sentence, an interrogative sentence can be obtained using different strategies.

Wh-questions

In this sub-section of the paper, we will analyze the behaviour of *Wh*- words in question formation. Mainly, we will study *arguments* and *adjuncts*. Let us first of all present the formal indicators of *Wh*- questions in Bakókó.

-Arguments:

Bakókó	Translation
zá	who
jé	What

- Referential adjuncts:

vé	Where
ndzèṅ	When

-Non -referential adjuncts:

ànùjé	Why
nélà	How

A. Arguments

In Bakókó, to form questions, arguments can either move or remain in situ.

(2)

- A Songue à g dìṅ **Zá**
 Songue SM P0 love Who

“Songue love who?”

- b. **zá** Songue à ṅgá Dìṅ
 who Songue SM ? Love

“Who does Songue love?”

- c. Songue à làm **jéé?**
 Songue SM cook what
 “Songue cooks what?”
- d. **jéé** lɛ̀ nàɛ̀ Songue à g làm?
 what be that Songue SM P0 cook
 “What is it that Songue cook?”

In (2 a, c), we have sentences where the interrogative morpheme is in situ. In (2b, d) these morphemes move to sentence initial position; and (2d) is read as a cleft interrogative clause. We also notice that when the two morphemes move, we have the morphemes /*ɲgá*/ and /*lɛ̀ nàɛ̀*/ which appear in the sentences. The question now may be what motivates the appearance of these morphemes since when they appear, it seems that the tense marker is absent as seen above in (2b, d) and when they do not, the tense marker shows up and attested below in (3a, b). The answer to this question will be provided later in the course of discussion. It is worth noting that when the *wh*-element moves sentence initially, sentences without /*lɛ̀ nàɛ̀*/ and /*ɲgá*/ are still grammatical as can be seen in the examples below.

(3)

- a. **jéé** Songue a g Làɲ
 what Songue SM P0 cook
 “what does Songue cook?”
- b. **zá** Songue a g dɪŋ
 who Songue SM P0 love
 “Who does Songue love?”

B. Referential adjuncts

Referential adjuncts behave just like arguments in Bakókó, that is, they can either appear in front of the sentence or stay sentence - finally. The following examples illustrate this argument.

(4)

- a. Songue à g kɛ̀ à tán **ndʒɛŋ**

Songue SM P0 go to village when

“When does Songue go to the village?”

- b. **ndʒeŋ** Songue à ŋgà kɛ\ à <**ndʒeŋ**> ?
when Songue SM ? go to ige

“When does Songue go to the village?”

Once more, we observe in (4b) that the morpheme /**ŋgà**/ appears when the question morpheme is at the matrix clause. If the referential adjunct /**ndʒeŋ**/ “when” can appear either at the beginning of the clause or at its end, it is not the case with /**veù**/ “where”. Examples (5) and (6) attest this fact.

- (5) mini g kɛ\ **vé**?
you P0 go where
“You go where?”

- (6) a ***vé** mìnì g kɛ\?
where you P0 go
“Where do you go?”

- b. ***vé** mìnì ŋgà kɛ\<**vé**>?
where you ? go
“Where do you go?”

In example (6), the referential adjunct appears at the beginning of the sentence rendering that sentence ungrammatical. This therefore means that /**vé**/ cannot occur in that position. Even though we replace the P0 morpheme with **ŋgà** as seen with sentences containing wh-argument, the sentence is still ungrammatical. (6b) is a case in point.

According to Rizzi (2013:311) ‘movement is structure preserving because it is ultimately reduced to a particular case of the structure building mechanism, merge’. With the movement of the *wh*-item, we should have, according to Rizzi (2013) the copy theory of traces which stipulates that ‘traces cannot be radically empty positions, as the emptying of a position would violate the Conservation Principle’. The movement of the referential adjunct of place is forbidden since the structure of the sentence will not be preserved and when

this *wh*-item stays in situ, it is full and pronounced at the base. Contrarily, when there is movement, the moved phrase is full but unpronounced. We can therefore conclude that since the referential adjunct of place *vé* “where” is at the base, move it will render the sentence ungrammatical as attested in (6). If arguments and referential adjuncts behave almost the same, what can we say about non-referential adjuncts?

C. Non –referential adjuncts

Just like the referential adjunct, one non-referential adjunct can either be fronted or no, while the second one can only stay in situ as attested in the examples (7) and (8).

(7)

a elóló ì g lɛ\ étʃɛ\ɲ ànùjé?
 duck SM PO be big why
 “The duck is big why?”

b. ànùjé elóló ì g lɛ\ étʃɛ\ɲ
 why duck SM PO be big
 “Why is the duck big?”

(8) a mə\ bɔ\ɲ lá
 I do how
 “How should do?”

b. *lá mə\ bɔ\ɲ
 how I do
 “How should I do?”

/lá/ in (8) is the short form of /nélé/. When this non-referential adjunct appears at the beginning of the sentence, that sentence is ungrammatical but when it appears at sentence final position, the structure is grammatical. So, the language does not allow this non – referential item to appear at sentence initial position. What has been said for the referential adjunct of place *vé* “where” is also valid here; by moving the referential adjunct of place the structure of the sentence will not be preserved; that is why the movement of this element is forbidden and we know with Rizzi (2013) that movement is structure preserving; so, if while moving an item the structure

is not preserved, the sentence obtained is thus ungrammatical and then violate the conservation principle as seen above.

Recall that, the Conservation Principle stipulates that the moved phrase should be full at the base but unpronounced and it also avoids a trace to be empty. In (7), the two sentences are grammatical and we clearly notice that the non – referential adjunct *ànùjé* “why” can appear sentence initially (7a) or sentence finally (7b) respecting therefore the Conservation Principle. Before continuing with the other types of question formation, let us come back to */ɲga/*.

I. The morpheme */ɲga/*

In the language, the morpheme */ɲga/* has different contexts of occurrence or can play different roles. It can be an aspectual morpheme expressing habitual as well as it is part of F2 morpheme, followed by a high tone. The case to which we are interested is when this marker shows up in question formation. Building a comparison with similar morphemes in other languages such as Jamaican Creole (Durrleman 2005), German (Coniglio and Zegrean 2010) and Duala (Nseme 1991, 2013), we will examine and determine the nature of */ɲga/* when used in question formation and the head that hosts that morpheme.

A. The case of Jamaican Creoleⁱⁱ

In Jamaican Creole, there is a morpheme namely ‘*a*’ which behaves just like *ɲga* in Bakókó. Let us consider the following examples:

- (9) *a* waak mi waakmek mi kom so liet
 a walk 1sg walk Do 1sg come if late
 “It is because I walked that I arrived late”

- (10) *a*- wen Boti lef ya
 a when Bertiego here
 “When did Bertie go?” (Bailey 1966)

Example (9) above is considered by Durrleman as an instance of predicate cleft and in (10), she talks about *Wh-*

fronting. If this morpheme precedes the *wh*-word in Jamaican Creole, different from the place *ɲga* occupies in Bakókó *wh*-fronting (it is adjacent to the *wh*-word), we nevertheless observe that it is compulsory in Jamaican Creole. Related works attest the fact that this item helps laying an emphasis on the question and is said to be purely verbal. What about *n̄* in Dúalá?

B. Dúalá suffix *n̄*

n̄ is a suffix whose description has been of great challenge for many linguists who devoted themselves in the description of Dúalá language.ⁱⁱⁱ According to Helmlinger (1972), this suffix has a verbal characteristic inherent to relative constructions.

- (11)

kálati	nyéná	ló	tìlín̄
letter	that	you	write-P

“The letter that you wrote...” (Helmlinger 1972:17)

Epee (1976) on his part distinguishes three main contexts in which this morpheme can appear namely inside focalized constructions, echo-question and relative constructions. What we retain from these three contexts is that it also appears in question formation, precisely in echo-questions.

Nseme (1991, 2013) thinks that *n̄* should be considered as a discursive particle indexed to an utterance. This morpheme recalls in the mind of the interlocutors the action. But, what interests us is the fact that this morpheme appears in question formation. One may want to know what the relationship between the elements in Dúalá, the one mentioned in Jamaican Creole and the Bakókó morpheme.

C. Identifying /*ɲga*/ in Bakókó

Having examined the context of appearance of two similar morphemes in two different languages, we will now try to determine the status of /*ɲga*/ in the language under study. Kenmogne (2000) has identified this morpheme as the habitual aspect or the F2 marker. The examples (12) attest it.

- (12)

a.

à

ɲgá

Bat

- SM hab. ask
 “He uses to ask”
- b. ma **ngá** hén
 1sg-SM F2 see
 “I will see”

In (12a), we have an instance of the habitual aspect. In that case, /**nga**/ which bears a low tone is followed by a high tone. The structure of the habitual aspect in the language is /**nga**/ + **H**. The high tone attaches to the following TBU. Concerning F2 morpheme, /**nga**/ has instead a high tone as observed in (12b).

If in question formation it is considered as the habitual morpheme or F2 one, then the questions where this morpheme appears have habitual meaning or future understanding. Let us take for example (13) and (14) below.

(13)

- a zá à **ngá** sǒngòò káátì`?
 who SM Asp read book
 “Who used to read a book?”
- b. zá ɔ̀\ ngó´ pɔ̀\t lènè
 who 2sg Asp speak about
 “Who do you speak about?”
- c. jée Tang à **ngá** sǒngòò
 what Tang SM Asp Read
 “What does Tang use to read?”

- (14) a. zá a **ngá** sǒngòò káátì`??
 who SM F2 read book
 “Who will read a book?”
- b. zá ɔ̀\ ngó´ pɔ̀\t Lènè
 who 2sg F2 speak about
 “Who will you speak about?”
- c. jée Tang a ngá sǒngòò

what Tang SM F2 Read

“What will Tang read?”

Let us first of all note that in (12b), /*ŋgɔ*/ is a variant of /*ŋga*/, both playing in this case the same role. /*ŋgɔ*/ shares the features of the second person singular /*ó*/ that precedes it in the sentences above and which is the subject in the sentences. If this morpheme is considered in these sentences as the habitual morpheme (see Kenmogne 2000) then the above sentences will have respectively the following meanings:

- (15) a. who use to read a book?
 b. who do you use to speak about?
 c. what does Tang use to read?

In the context of these sentences, they have not been pronounced with a sense of *who has the habit of* or *who is used to*. Rather, they are simply stated to ask simple questions not referring to habit. If we also consider this morpheme as a tense one, examples in (14) will be read in the following way:

- (16) a. who will read a book?
 b. who will you speak about?
 c. what will Tang read?

In that case too, the meanings of the utterances above are different to the context in which the clauses have been pronounced.

Given that this morpheme is not compulsory in question formation when the *wh*- item moves, one can wonders about what can motivate a speaker to use it or not? It should also be note that this morpheme, even though not compulsory, can only appear when the sentence is in the present as shown below:

(17)

- a. Eboko a ŋǵá kɛ\ hén Paul ndʒeŋ?
 Eboko SM Asp. go see Paul when
 “Eboko will see Paul when?”

- b. ndʒeŋ Eboko a- ŋǵá- kɛ\ hén li Paul?
 when Eboko SM F2 Go see Ass. Paul
 “When will Eboko see Paul?”

- c. zá Eboko a- g lɛ\ lihén?

who Eboko SM P0 be See
 “Who will Eboko see?”

d. Tang a- á- hén jée?
 Tang SM P1 see What
 “Tang saw what?”

e. jée Tang a- á- hén?
 what Tang SM P1 See
 “What did Tang see?”

In (17a), the aspectual morpheme plays the role of F1 marker since we have the structure **kε** (*to go*) + *main verb* that gives us F1 and **kε** should be in **P0** but the whole structure representing the future just as is seen in (17c); in (17b), we have the *wh*-item which appears at sentence initial position. The sentence is in F2 tense and **ɲga** shows up as a tense marker, with a high tone. This F2 marker is homophonous with **ɲga**, the main difference being at the level of tones. Let us recall with Kenmogne (2000) that **ɲga** is considered as F2 when it bears a high tone. In (17c and e), we also have tenses different from present simple with the *wh*-element at initial position preventing **ɲga** to appear. Kenmogne (2000) states that **ɲga** behaves as a tense. If it is the case that it behaves like a tense marker, one can understand why it is used in (17a) as such. Is it the same word which therefore has multiple functions?

Let us compare **ɲga** with similar particles in other languages such as Jamaican Creole, German, Duala and Italian to know whether it is a discourse particle or simply an aspectual morpheme.

D. /ɲga/ as a discourse particle

The term *discourse particle* refers to a special class of elements in different languages (Coniglio and Zegrean, 2010). Discourse particles have abstract functions and meanings and are used to introduce the speaker’s point of view in the discourse (See German Thurmair 1989).

When pronouncing a sentence, the speaker performs a speech act in the sense of Austin (1962) and Searle (1975). A

speech act can be defined as ‘an utterance as a functional unit in communication’. These different speech acts have been classified by Searle (1975a) into five parts namely:

Representative: a speech act which describes states or events in the world, such as an assertion, a claim, a report.

(18) This is a German car. (The assertion)

Directive: a speech act that has the function of getting the listener to do something, such as a suggestion, a request, or a command.

(19)

a. Please sit down.

b. Why don't you close the window?

Commissive: a speech act that commits the speaker to doing something in the future, such as a promise or a threat.

(20)

a. If you don't stop fighting I'll call the police. (Threat)

b. I'll take you to the movies tomorrow. (Promise)

Expressive: a speech act in which the speaker expresses feelings and attitudes about something, such as an apology, a complaint, or to thank someone, to congratulate someone.

(21) The meal was delicious.

Declarative: a speech act which changes the state of affairs in the world.

(22) During the wedding ceremony the act of marriage is performed when the phrase *I now pronounce you man and wife* is uttered.

According to Coniglio and Zegrean (2010), discourse particles are a special class of words that may only occur in the IP, whose meaning and function depend on the context of use. They are particularly evident in spoken. Let us consider the following sentence.

(23) *German*

Kann er **denn** schwimmer
canhe part. swim

“Is it true that he can swim?” Coniglio and Zegrean (2010:8)

Even with the absence of **denn**, this sentence will be grammatical as can be seen below.

(24) Kann er schwimmer

can he swim
 “Is it true that he can swim?”

The case of *denn*^{iv} in German resembles *ɲga* of Bakókó. Both items are used in a similar context and are optional. As Nseme (1991, 2013) claimed for *n̄* that it enters in discourse configuration, all the same these morphemes enter in the same context of discourse configurationality. Coniglio and Zegrean (2010) state that discourse particles ‘are external to the proposition, since they provide additional information about the speaker’s opinions and intentions. Thus they pertain to illocutionary layer’. In German and other languages^v, discourse particles occur in certain types of clauses: declarative, interrogative, etc. In Jacobs’s (1986, 1991) they contribute to express the speaker’s intention.

Relying on Coniglio and Zegrean (2010) who cite Thurmair (1989), Jacobs (1991), Abraham (2009b) and Zimmermann (2004a, b) the particle *denn* may only occur in questions. The main difference with the Bakókó’s case is that */ɲga/*, depending of the context, varies as far as the tone is concerned.

In this same category, we find the optional Italian morpheme *mai* which also appears in interrogative sentences (25a). In Romanian, it is the optional question marker *oare* (25b).

(25)

a. *Italian*

cosa significheranno (**mai**) quelle parole ?
 what will mean part. those words

“What (on earth) do those words mean after all?”

Cardinaletti (2007, 2009)

b. *Romanian*

(**Oare**)Ți maȚina Ți-a vaîndut-o Ion paîn# la urm#?

Part also car-the refl.las sold it_{CL} Ion until at end

“Has Ion sold his car, too, in the end (I wonder)?”

Hill (2002) and Ra’iu (2010)

What is peculiar is that discourse particles do not modify the type of the clause. An interrogative sentence remains an

interrogative sentence even with the presence of the discourse particle.

Giorgi (2009:134) argues for the syntactic presence of the speaker's temporal (and spatial) coordinates in a specialized projection C-speaker as the highest leftmost position in the complementizer –layer.

According to Rizzi (1997), Ambar (1999, 2002) and Cinque (1999) 'syntactic structures include a projection whose head encodes illocutionary force' and Speas and Tenny (2003:317) believe that 'this head is overt in languages that have sentence particles, clitics or morphemes indicating whether the sentence is a statement, a question, etc'.

Speas and Tenny (2003) postulate a Speech Act Phrase that selects the CP. It is the place where the assignment of pragmatic role (speaker, hearer and utterance context) is related to the configuration in which they appear.

Coniglio and Zegrean (2010) assume that 'the highest projection of the CP layer can be divided into two projections namely ILL(ocutionary Force), where the speaker's intentions are encoded and C(lause) T(ype) where features ensuring the realization of syntactic operations proper of each clause type are present.'

Generally speaking, a particle is assumed to always have two interpretable features, a feature which refers to the speaker's intention encoded in ILL and one which ensures syntactic compatibility with CT.

Briefly speaking, the For(ce) P(hrase) resulting from the splitting of CP is made up of two layers namely ILL and CT which dominate AgrP. Coniglio and Zegrean (2010) stretch their point of view further by saying that even when the sentence is a simple declarative one, the speaker's intention is encoded and therefore it should project ILL and CT. It simply means that the features ILL and CT can be either realized or not but they are present. In this connection and agreeing with Coniglio and Zegrean (2010), we can say that *ɲga* is a discursive morpheme, and that it is hosted by ILLP. But the fact is that in the case of Bakoùkoù, this particle is not hosted in the CP domain as in other languages but rather in the Infl- domain

since it appears in - between *Agr*^o and VP. We will then obtain the following examples (14a and c are repeated here as (26a and b)):

(26)

- a. zá a ɲgà sɔ́ɲgòò káátìʔ
 who SM part. read book

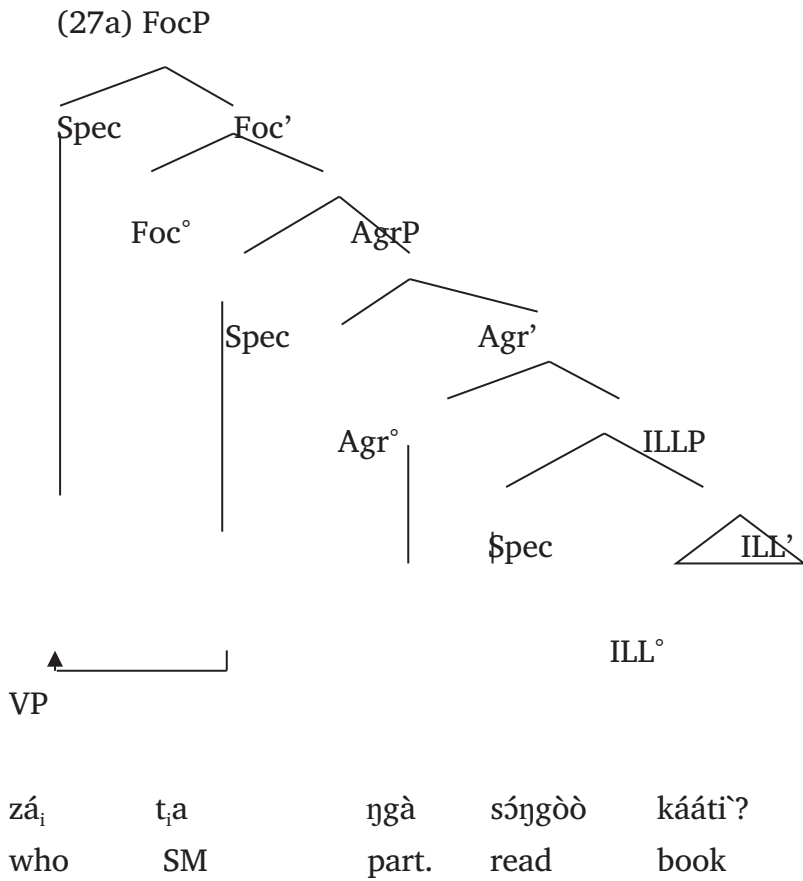
“Who reads a book?”

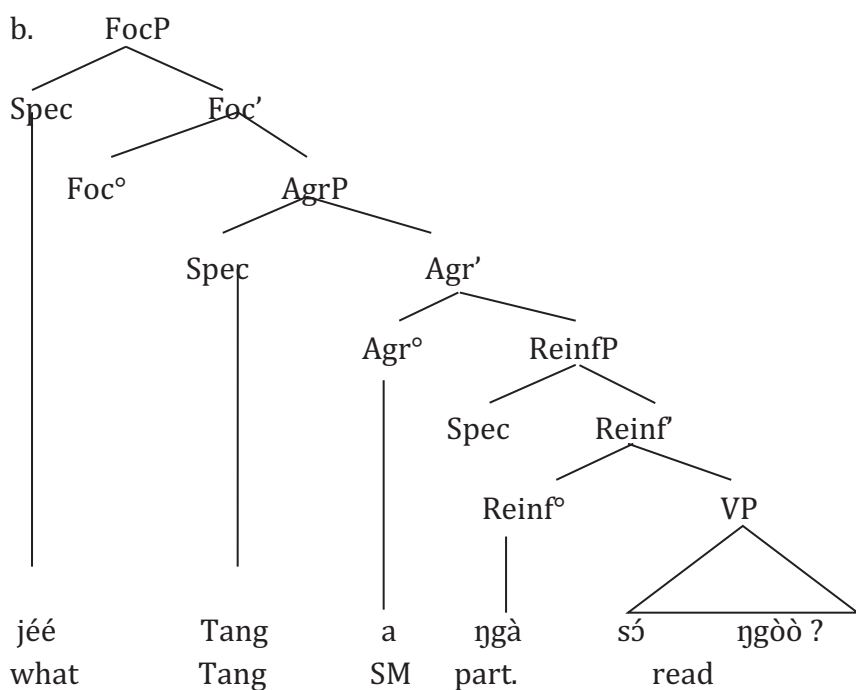
- b. jée Tang a ɲgà sɔ́ɲgòò ?
 what Tang SM part. read

“What does Tang read?”

In the above examples, we no more have the aspectual morpheme *ɲgà*´ but rather we have the *illocutionary particle*. Let us remind that the illocutionary force is the effect the speaker wants the utterance to have on the listener and the aspect can be defined as a term used to denote the activity, event, or state described by a verb. From these two definitions, it is clear that the illocutionary force depends on the effect the speaker wants to have on the listener whereas the aspect deals mainly with the action described by the verb. The two contexts are therefore different. Not only the context can help us distinguishing when we refer to *ɲga* as having an illocutionary force or as being an aspect. When we refer to it above as the habitual aspect, *ɲga* has a low tone and is followed by a high tone *ɲgà*ˆ); when we have it as an illocutionary particle, it is not followed by a high tone (26a-b).

One of the main problems is to determine the head of this discourse particle. In other words, what is the phrase that will held *ɲga*?





According also to Coniglio and Zegrean (2010), one piece of evidence that ‘CT must be distinguished from ILL comes from the mismatch between the (intended) illocutionary force of an indirect speech act and its concrete realization. Although surfacing as an interrogative clause, [(27)] for instance is not a request of information (in fact an answer to it would be odd) but it is a directive requesting an action on behalf of the addressee.’

(27) Could you close the window, please? (* Yes, I can/could)

ILL=Directive (requesting an action)

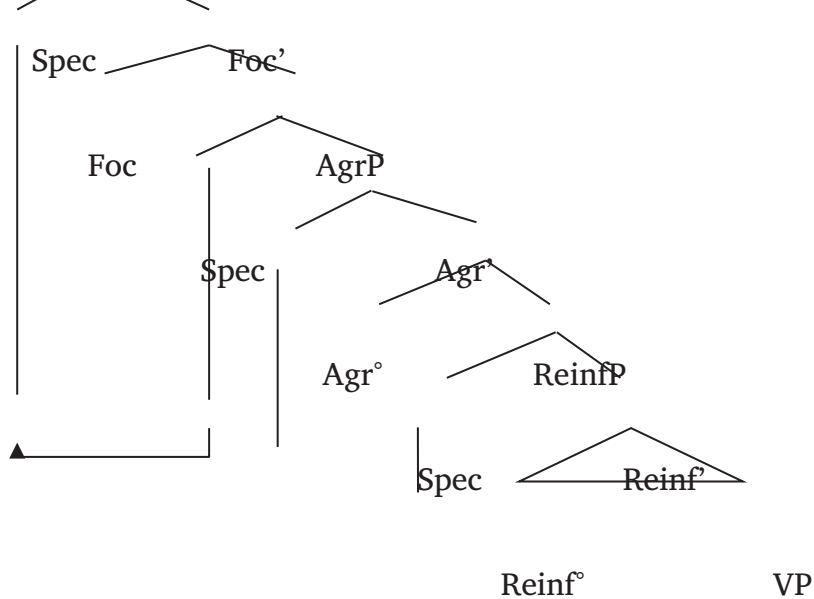
CT= Interrogative

In the above structure, the subject of the clause is questioned and the *wh*-word occupies then the specifier position of FocP (Rizzi 2001). As seen in the phrase marker, *ngà* occupies [Spec, ILLP]. Let us recall that according to previous studies such as Rizzi (1997, 2001); the illocutionary

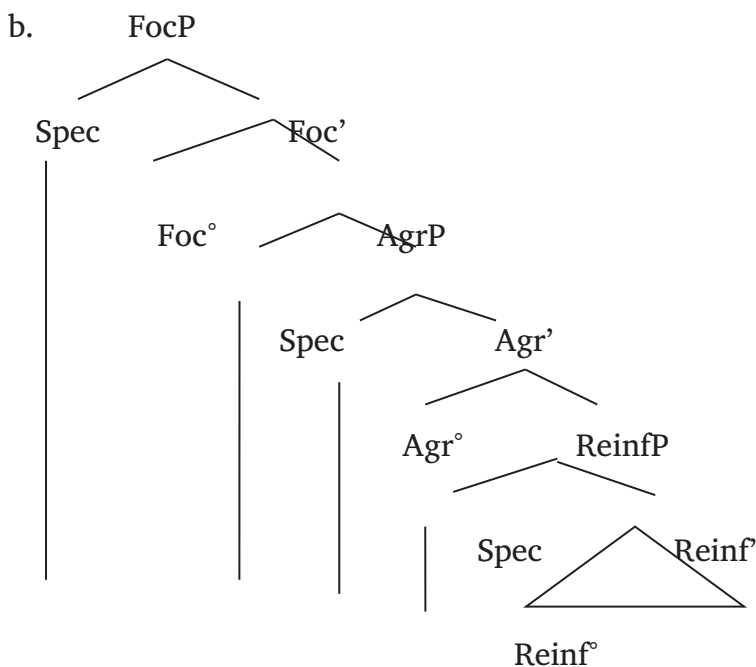
force features appear within Split-CP and not within Split-IP. CP splits when there is an illocutionary force that makes a sentence be declarative, interrogative, etc. If that is the case, *ɲga* cannot be considered as an illocutionary force since it does not change the nature of the sentence but, it reinforces the illocutionary act and that is why we think that it is an Interrogative Reinforcer. AgrP will therefore dominate a functional phrase (FP) that will host that reinforcer. When discussing with the informants, they insist by saying the sentence having *ɲga* does not read as a simple/ordinary interrogation; rather, it reads as an interrogative sentence having a stress different from when there is no *ɲga*. In the cartographic perspective this FP can be a reinforcer phrase as illustrated below in (28a-b) that repeats (27a-b).

(28)

a. FocP



zá _i	t _i	a	ngà	sɔ́ngòò	káátì?
who		SM	part.	read	book



VP

jée Tang a ηgà sɔ́ηgòdò ?
 what Tang SM part. read

Apart from the mechanism observed with the insertion of a Reinforcer while building question, we can assert with Rizzi (2013:311) that in building question, we should respect the No Tampering Condition by adopting the Copy Theory of Traces.

(29) *No Tampering Condition*

Don't modify structures that have already been created by Merge.

(30) *Copy theory of Traces*

Traces cannot be radically empty positions, as the emptying of a position would violate the conservation principle (No Tampering).

This simply means that in question formation, when we have a *wh*-item that moves, the place from where it moves cannot remain empty. We rather have full but unpronounced occurrences of the *moved* phrase. Also recall with Rizzi (2013:311) that ‘movement is structure preserving because it is ultimately reduced to a particular case of the structure building mechanism, Merge’.

Taking all this into consideration, we have sentences such as:

(31)

- a. zá Eboko à g lɛ\ li\hén <zá>
 who Eboko SM P0 be see who
 “Who will Eboko see?”
- b. jée Tang a á hén <jée>
 what Tang SM P1 see what
 “Tang saw what?”

At the end of this aspect on the morpheme *ɲga*, we can say that if it is a multifunctional morpheme, it still deserve deep study. Knowing that in Bakókó the tone is lexical; we can be tempted to consider it as being different from what is observed at the level of the tense and aspect. So, a diachronic study of this morpheme can help better classify it.

II. Yes/no question

According to Mutaka and Tamanji (2000) cited in Bessala (2010), SVO languages form yes/no questions maintaining the structure of a declarative sentence but adding an additional element such as a sound, a morpheme or a word.

Aboh and Pfau (2010:91), relying on Cheng (1991), assert that ‘yes/no questions and *wh*-questions have different syntax even though they may appear to share certain morphosyntactic properties, such as the presence of a question particle, auxiliary insertion, or word order alternation’.

Stretching their point of view further, they also state that ‘yes/no question involve a particle that occur sentence finally because it merges in an interrogative functional head Inter. that attracts the proposition (i.e. FinP) into its specifier’.

Zé AMVELA (1982:6) asserts that in tone language, the tone has a lexical and syntactic property. This property helps in distinguishing the declarative from the interrogative clauses. There are different ways of building yes/no questions which differ according to the language. Bakókó is a tone language and in this respect, we can say that the tone has a syntactic property; the tone allows us to go from a declarative sentence to an interrogative one. The fact is that this tone is supported in writing by a vowel. What Bitja'a (1990) calls '*Voyelle finale realise*'. This final realized vowel will be hosted by an Interrogative Phrase as seen in other languages such as Tuki (Bilola 1989, 1990, 1991a-b, 1992, 1995), Ewondo (Essono 2000). Generally speaking, this final vowel is identical to the final vowel of the preceding item.

(32)

a. ɔ\ g sómòdò li`tʃááà ?
 2Sg P.O want play Q
 "Do you want to play?"

b. ɔ\ g là lìlɔ\ŋgéɛ\ ?
 2Sg P0 can sing Q
 "Can you sing?"

Bakókó

c. kɔ\kú yró A\sí bá à?
 Koku call Asiba Inter

"Did Koku call Asiba? *Fongbe (Aboh and Pfau 2010:94)*

d. Séto\ kò wâ ?

Seto already come inter

"Has Seto arrived already?" *Gungbe (Aboh and Pfau 2010:93)*

e. ŋúa à kɛ\ ndé ē ?

Child Agr TNS sleep Inter

"Did the child sleep?" *Nweh (Nkemnji 1995:154),*

(Aboh and Pfau 2010:99)

f. [TP yi- marir] Fonkpu____Bih a?

 F2 marry Fonkpu Bih QM

"Will Fonkpu marry Bih?" *Lamnsò (Bilola 2013)*

g. Lawan á rá waw

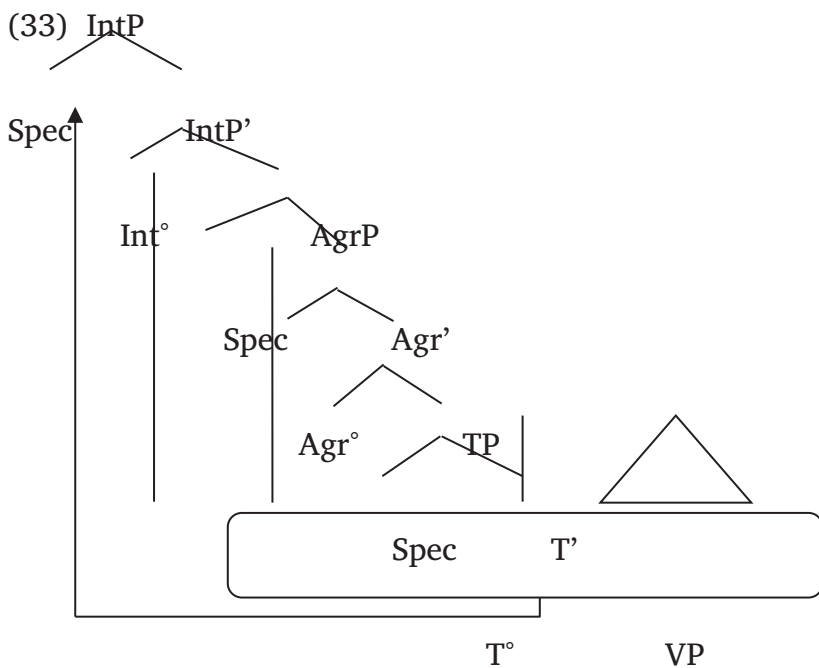
 Lawan 3sg come Int

“Does Lawan come? / Is Lawan coming?” *Muyang* (Bilola 2013)

Example (32a and b) from Bakókó , (32c) from Fongbe, (32e), (32f) and (32g) from *Muyang* confirm the idea of Mutaka and Tamanji (2000) and Aboh and Pfau (2010) who stipulate that yes/no questions are obtained through the adding of a final morpheme. As far as Gungbe is concerned (32d), it is the tone which helps in building yes/no question, therefore confirming the idea of Zé Amvela (1982) who said that the tone can help distinguishing the declarative from the interrogative clause.

Relying on Roberts (1993), Bilola (2013), the position of the question morpheme at the end of the clause is due to the movement of the entire clause to the specifier position of the Interrogative phrase deriving the surface structure obtained. Specifically, Bilola (2013) thinks that in yes/no questions, we have the pied- piping of a heavier constituent different from the only element which can move in French or in English.

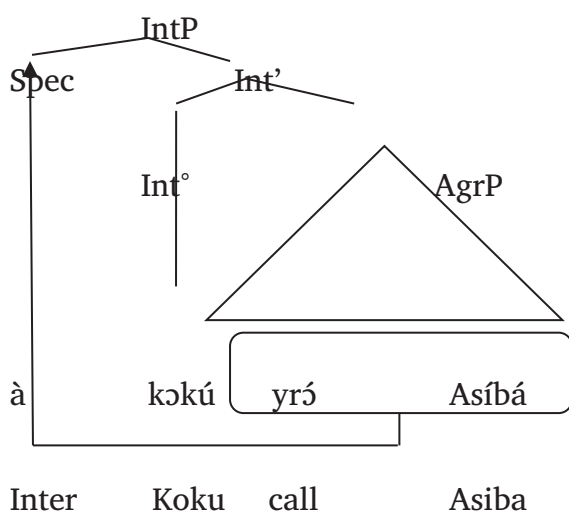
Sentence (32a) will then have the following phrase structure.



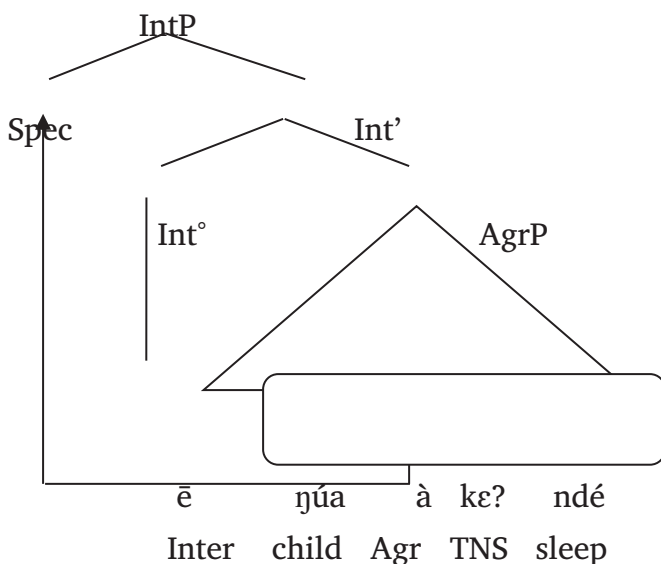
à	ɔ	g	sómòdò	litjáá
Q	2Sg	P.0	want	play

The derivation above looks like the one from Fongbe and Nweh (*Aboh and Pfau 2010*) presented below where we have the heavy pied-piping of AgrP to Spec, IntP.

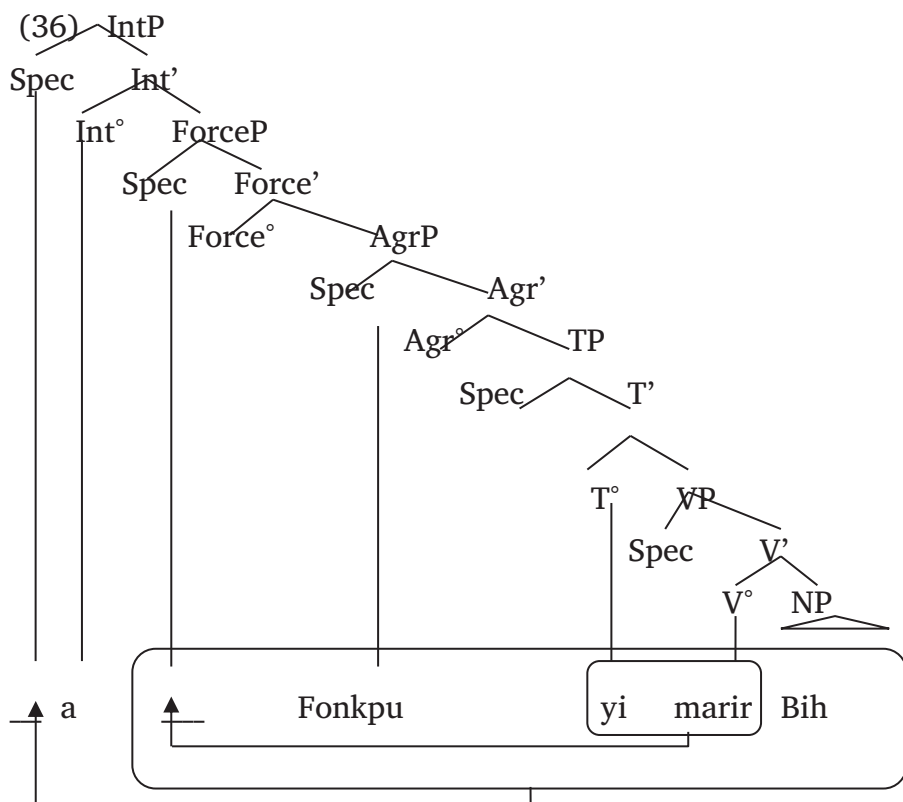
(34) *Fongbe*



(35) *Nweh*



In Lamnso, the phenomenon is slightly different. Biloa (2013) affirms that in that language, what is obtained is due to ‘two movement operations [that] take place: TP rises to Spec, ForceP (Step I), followed by the raising of the resulting structure to Spec, IntP (Step II).’ These two movements are presented in the tree diagram below:



There are languages that exhibit subject – verb inversion in yes/no question formation. We have the case of French and English in the following examples:

(37)

- a. Viens-tu?
 Come you
 “Are you coming?”
- b. Are you ill?

In the above examples, the verb in (37a) and the auxiliary in (37b) are fronted, that is, they are moved before the subject and we have the rising tone to obtain yes/no question. What about Bakókó? Let us consider the following examples:

(38)

- | | | | |
|----|---------------------|------|----|
| a. | ɔ | ké | è? |
| | 2sg | go | Q |
| b. | *ké | ɔ` | è? |
| | go | 2sg | Q |
| | "Will you go?" | | |
| c. | à | só | è? |
| | 3Sg | come | Q |
| d. | *só | à | è? |
| | come | 3Sg | Q |
| | "Is he/she coming?" | | |

In examples (38b, d), the verb is fronted. This renders those sentences ungrammatical. We can conclude that Bakoùkoù does not allow subject - verb inversion as it is the case in French and English. Not coming only from question formation, this fact of subject-verb inversion is not allowed by the by the entire language system. Declarative sentences that follow attest this fact:

(39)

- | | | | | | |
|----|--------------------------------|--------|--------|-----------|-----------|
| a. | à | g | sɔŋgòò | káátì | |
| | SM | P0 | read | book | |
| | "He reads a book" | | | | |
| b. | *g | sɔŋgòò | à | káátì? | |
| | P0 | read | SM | book | |
| | "Does he read a book?" | | | | |
| c. | nɛɛ | à | g | lɛ | nláám |
| | house | SM | P0 | be | beautiful |
| | "The house is beautiful" | | | | |
| d. | *g | lɛ | nɛɛ | nláám? | |
| | P0 | be | house | beautiful | |
| | "Does the house be beautiful?" | | | | |

From the above examples, we can generalize what we previously state that subject-verb inversion is forbidden by the language system in Bakókó, and that is why sentences (39b) and (39d) are ungrammatical.

This impossibility of auxiliary/lexical verb rising in yes/no question seems to be generalized in Bantu languages. Let us consider for example the Tuki data.

(40)

- a. u laa- m
 3Sg come- Inc.
 "He is coming"
- b. *laa- m u?
 come Inc. 3Sg
 "Is he/she coming?"
- c. e ndaa- m
 3Sg go- Inc
 "He is going"
- d. *ndaa- m e?
 go- Inc 3Sg
 "Is he/she going?"

In examples (40 b, d), the verbs have been fronted to obtain yes/no questions in Tuki. This fronting of the verb renders the sentences ungrammatical.

It has been previously said that the final vowel of the yes/no interrogative generally has the same features as the final vowel of the verb root preceding it in Bakoùkoù. Examples (38a, c) repeat here as (41a, b) attest the fact that it is not always the case.

(41)

- a. ó ké è
 2sg go Q
 "Will you go?"
- b. a só è
 3sg come Q
 "Is he/she coming?"

In each of these examples, the question morpheme is different from the last vowel of the preceding item. Feature assimilation of the question morpheme can be total or partial as can be seen here.

(42)

- a. ɔ\ g somoo litʃa aa

2Sg	P.0	want	play	Q
		"Do you want to play?"		
b. ɔ\	g	la	lilɔŋg	éé
2Sg	P0	can	sing	Q
		"Can you sing?"		

In these examples namely (42), a feature assimilation is total whereas in (41a) it is partial and in (41b), it does not exist. In (42a), the last phoneme of the preceding words 'a' shares with the question morpheme 'a' the same features which are [+central] [+open]. In (42b) we have instead 'é' which is the last phoneme of the word that precedes the question morpheme which is also used as the question morpheme itself; these phonemes have the following features [+front] [+open]. As far as partial feature assimilation is concerned, (41a) is a case in point. The only feature shared by the vowel preceding the question marker is [+open]. They share only one feature and that is why we are speaking about partial feature assimilation. In (41b) the items concerned do not share any feature.

Question tags in Bakókó

Question tags are attested in Bakókó. In this particular form of tags, we have the English meaning of *isn't it?* and the French counterpart *n'est-ce-pas?* These forms are used to verify whether an affirmation is true or not. We should note that the answer cannot be different from "yes + positive clause" or "no + negative clauses". We can therefore say that it is another type of yes/no questions. To obtain the interrogative sentence in Bakókó, we have the following structures:

(43) *affirmative clause + /ŋgáábe/ or /náŋgbe/*

or

/maané/+ affirmative clause.

From the above, we can say that depending on the morpheme, it can appear either before the affirmative clause or after it.

-/ɲgáábe/ and /náɲgbe/ occur after the affirmative sentence to derive the interrogative sentence as is shown in the examples below.

- (44) a. Zang a g ke á ɓom
Zang SM P0 go Prep market

“Zang will go to the market”

- b. Zang a g ke á ɓom, ɲgáábe?

Zang SM P0 go Prep market Q

“Zang will go to the market, won’t he?”

As far as /maané/ is concerned, it occurs before the affirmative sentence as in the examples that follow.

(45)

- a. Zang a g ke á ɓom
Zang SM P0 go Prep market

“Zang will go to the market”

- b. *maané* Zang a g ke á ɓom
Q Zang SM P0 go Prep market

“Zang will go to the market, won’t he?”

We clearly see that in (44) and (45), it is the same declarative sentence that is used but with the different interrogative markers. For each type, the position of the interrogative morpheme differs. We can also note that these two interrogative morphemes are in complementary distribution and do not compete for the same place. That is why sentence (46) below is ungrammatical.

- (46) **maané* Zang a g ke á ɓom ɲgáábe?

Q Zang SM P0 go Prep market Q

“Isn’t it that Zang will go to the market?”

By the same token, it is not possible for these interrogative items to be interchangeable. Thus, the following sentences are ungrammatical.

(47)

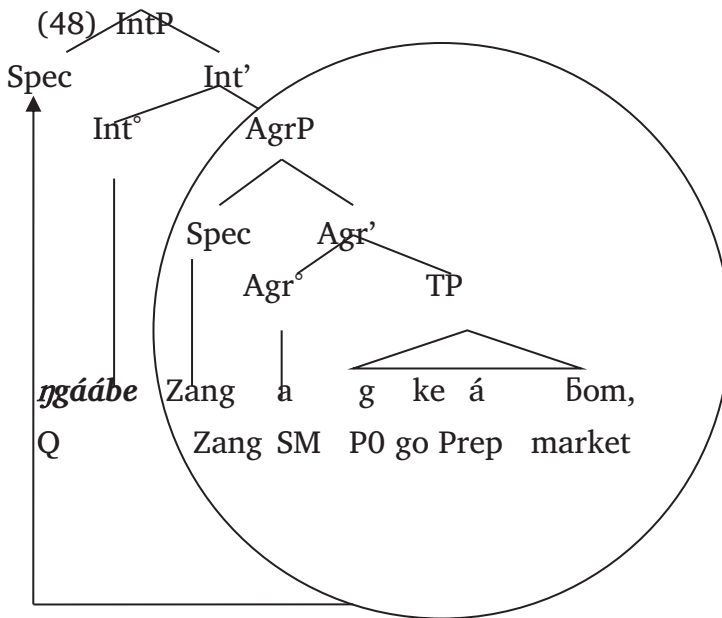
- a) *Zang a g ke á ɓom *maané*
Zang SM P0 go Prep market Q

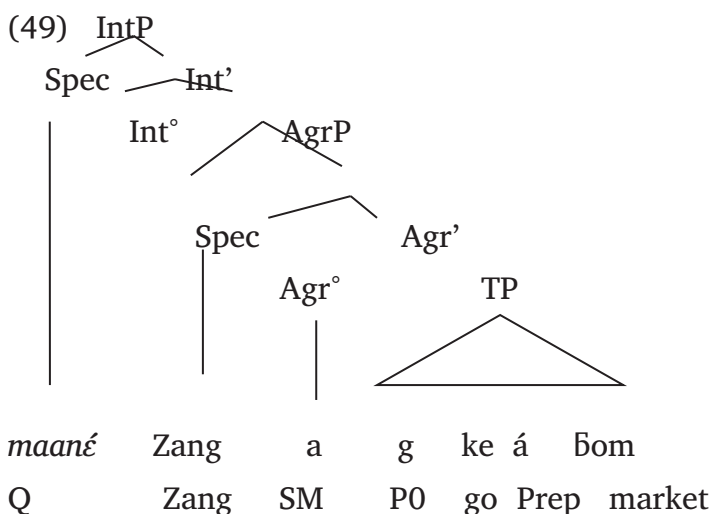
“Isn’t it that Zang will go to the market?”

- b. **ɲgáábe* Zang a g ke á ɓom
Q Zang SM P0 go Prep market

“Isn’t it that Zang will go to the market?”

We have seen that these morphemes namely /*ngáábe*/ and /*nángbe*/ appear only at the end of the sentence whereas /*maané*/ appears only sentence initially, the meaning obtained in both cases is the one of an interro-negative sentence; when we remove for example these items in (47a and b); we have a declarative clause (see 44 above). We can conclude that these items are purely interro- negative items. The derivation of sentences (44b) and (45b) will give us (48) and (49) respectively:





/ŋgáábe/ and */maané/* are base generated in [Int°, IntP]. IntP dominates AgrP and */ŋgaàààbe/* */maanáà /* have therefore scope over AgrP. To obtain the word order attested in phonetic form, AgrP is pied-piped into Spec, IntP, a position that dominates and precedes AgrP, this pied-piping is accounted for by Chomsky's (1993) Extension Condition which stipulates that as soon as a head is merged, movement into its specifier is obligatory (see also Koopman and Szabolcsi 2000:42, Biloa 2013).

In (48), there is pied-pipping of AgrP to [Spec, IntP] exactly as observed with other final interrogative markers. Contrary, in (49), there are no pied-pipping since */maanáà /* at PF appears sentence initially.

A. Indirect questions

To build indirect questions, Bakoùkoù makes use of verbs such as */bâât/* "ask" which precedes the *wh*-item. The indirect question is therefore the complement of the verb of the matrix clause.

(50)

- a. Songe à g bâât za Tang á jen
 Songe SM PO ask who Tang P1 see

- “Songe asks who Tang saw”
- b. Songe à G baât Tang ndʒeŋ a ŋgà' sɔ
 Songe SM P0 ask Tang when SM Reinf. come
 “Songue asks Tang when she will come”

To derive the surface structure of these sentences, the *wh*-items in the embedded question move to [Spec, CP] of the embedded clause. In that case, the *wh*-item cannot stay in situ. We also observe in sentence (46b) that the morpheme /*ŋga*/ appears. This marker has been said to occupy [Spec, ReinfP].

B. Multiple *wh*-questions

According to the three major strategies of multiple *wh*-question formation, languages have been divided into three types:

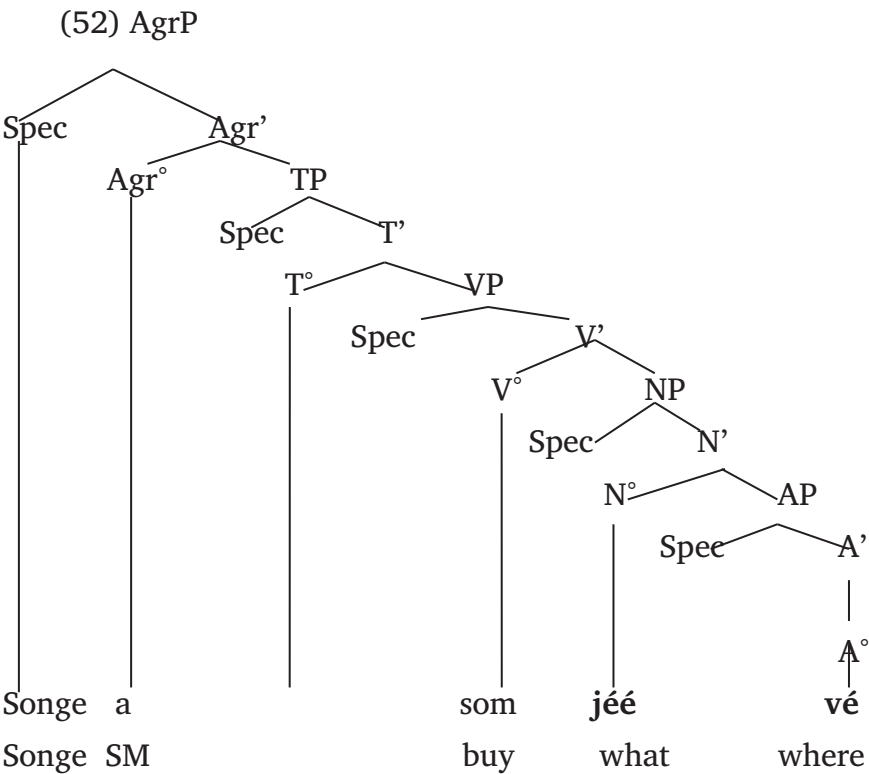
1. Multiple *wh*-fronting;^{vi}
2. *Wh*-in situ languages;^{vii}
3. Mixed *wh*-languages.^{viii}

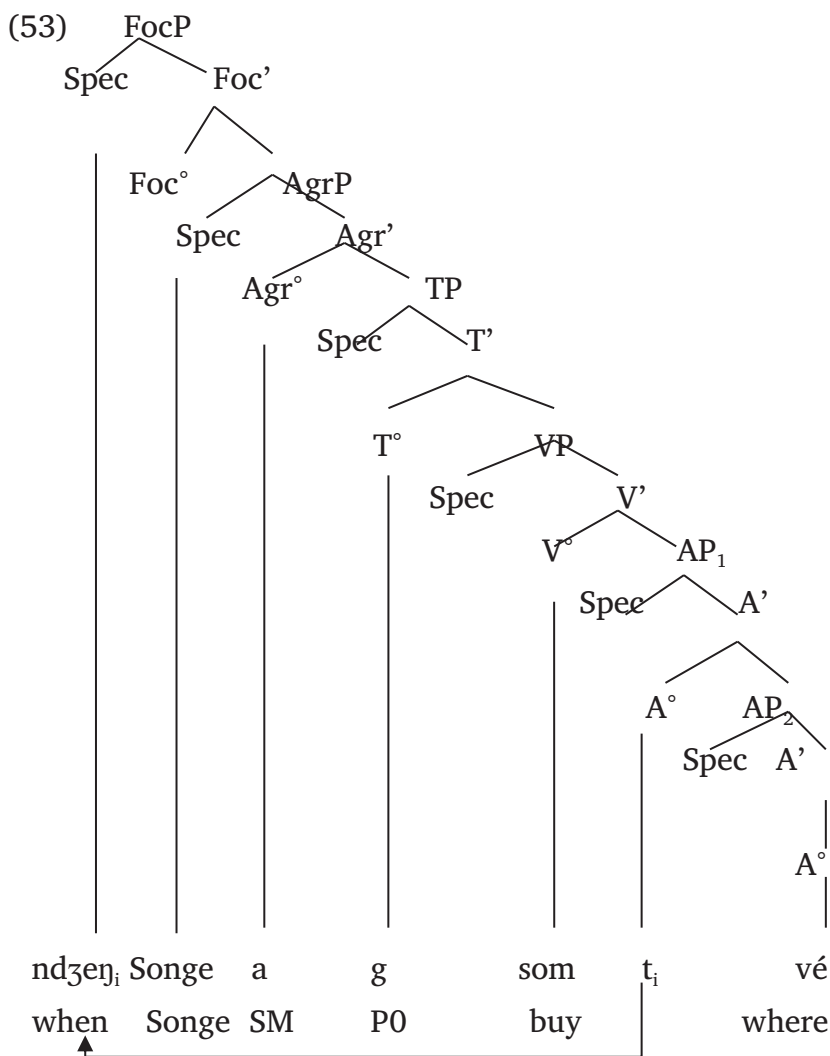
Bakókó pertains to the first and third type of languages that adopt respectively the position where all *wh*-items are in situ and a mixed version of in-situ and ex-situ *wh*-question at the same time as is presented below.

- (51)
- a. Songe a\ so/m **jée** **vé**
 Songe SM buy what where
 “Songe buys what where?”
- b. Songe a\ g Ká **ndʒeŋ** **vé**
 Songe SM P0 go when where
 “Songe goes where when?”
- c. **Zé** a\ g so/m **jée**
 who SM P0 buy what
 “Who buys what?”
- d. **ndʒeŋ** Songe a g ká **vé**
 when Songe SM P0 go where
 “When does Songe go where?”

In (51a-b) we have the first type on languages which is represented since the two elements remain in situ occupying

respectively NP and AP. The tree diagram obtained is presented below:





In (53) above, the referential of time moves and lands on [spec, FocP] as has been said that *wh*-elements lands in [spec, FocP] when they move. The referential of place does not move; therefore, it occupies the final position of the sentence.

In (51c-d) we have the first *wh*-element which appears sentence initially and the second one appears sentence finally. In (51c), the first *wh*-element moves from [spec, AgrP] to [Spec;

FocP] and the second *wh*-word is hosted by AP. (51d) behaves like (53).

According to Boskovic (2002), languages with this ability to project their multiple *wh*-phrases either sentence initially or sentence finally belong to the group which leaves all in situ and where the movement does not have an effect on the meaning or on the grammaticality of the sentence. In fact, if we take into consideration this idea, examples (54b-c) and (55b-c) will be grammatical; but, it is not the case as can be seen:

- (54a) Songe a\ só/m yée vé?
 Songe SM buy what where
 “Songe buys what where?”
- b. *yée Songe a\ sóm vé?
 what Songe SM buy where
 “Songe buys what where?”
- c. *yée vé Songe a\ sóm?
 what where Songe SM buy
 “Songe buys what where?”
- (55a) za a\ g sóm jée?
 who SM P0 buy what
 “Who buys what?”
- b. *a\ g sóm za jée?
 SM P0 buy who what
 “Who buys what?”
- c. *za jée a g som?
 who what SM P0 buy
 “Who buys what?”

Relying on the Superiority effect which stipulates that the first to appear at the surface is the first who has moved, if we decide to move one *wh*-item or both as in (54b-c) and (55c) or leave them at sentence final position as in (55b), we will obtain only ungrammatical sentences. This clearly shows us that in this language, while building multiple *wh*-questions, we have instances where both items can stay in situ and instances where only one moves sentence initially respecting the Superiority effect; we have another instances where the

movement of one *wh*-item is compulsory. So, Data from Bakókó allow us not to agree with (Boskovic 2002).

From these different examples, one may ask himself what is the order of multiple *wh*-words attested in Bakókó. Let us first of all make a number of observations from the sentences above:

1. When the two *wh*-elements appear sentence finally, the argument precedes the referential adjunct;

2. When we have two referential adjuncts, the referential of time precedes the referential of place;

3. When we have ex-situ and in-situ *wh*-elements, the argument *zá* 'who' appears sentence initially while *jée* 'what' appears sentence finally;

4. When two referentials are used ex-situ and in-situ the referential of time appears sentence initially whereas the referential of place always appears sentence finally.

Shlonsky and Soare (2011:657) relying on Laenzlinger and Soare (2005) and Soare (2009) observe that 'the order of multiple *wh*-elemnts in the romanian left periphery ...basically mirrors the order of arguments and adverbs in the IP system. Thus not only do subjects precede objects, but also adjuncts are arrayed in the order "when" > "where" > "how".'

Data presented above about Bakókó allow us to assert that what holds in Romanian left periphery also holds in Bantu left periphery, especially in Bakókó.

Conclusion

This paper has shown that Bakókó makes use of both strategies of questions formation namely *wh*-extraction and *wh* in-situ. It has also been shown that when *wh*-words are extracted, they land sentence initially at [Spec, FocP] and there is an interrogative reinforcer element that appears and which is adjacent to Agr° occupying therefore the Reinforcer Phrase. This study also allows us to discover that question tags exist in Bakoùkoù, through two sets of items which are mutually exclusive and which do not compete for the same site. As far as multiple *wh*-questions are concerned, Bakókó belongs to two different groups: the first maintain the two *wh*-elements at

sentence final position and the second group moves one *wh*-element sentence initially and leaves the second sentence finally and when we have multiple *wh*-constructions, the Superiority effect is respected. This leads to the order “when” > “where” > “how”.

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ⁱThis is the list of abbreviations used in this work: SM=Subject Marker; P0=Present; F2= Future 2; P1= Past 1 sg=singular; hab= habitual; Asp=

Aspect; part.=particle; CL=Clitic; refl.=reflexive; ILL=Illocutionary; LLP=Illocutionary Phrase; CT= Clause Type; FocP=Focus Phrase; Foc=Focus; AgrP=Agreement Phrase; Agr=Agreement; FP=Functional Phrase; Spec=Specifier; VP=Verb Phrase; Q=Question; TNS=Tense; Inter=Interrogative; Prep= Preposition; FinP=Finite Phrase; Reinf.=Reinforcer; Reinf.P=Reinforcer Phrase; IntP=Interrogative Phrase; AP=Adverbial Phrase.

ⁱⁱThis language has been studied by Cassidy (1961), Bailey (1966), and Durrleman (2005) amongst others.

ⁱⁱⁱWorks carried out by Helmlinger (1972), Ittman (1978), and Nseme (1991, 2013) can be consulted.

^{iv}Coniglio and Zegrean (2010) state that when using *denn*, the speaker wants to stress her particular interest or concern with the respect of the information asked for. For more information on the behavior of *denn*, see also Thurmair (1989) and Bayer (2008) amongst others.

^vSee Borst (1985), Hentschel (1986), Thurmair (1989), Abraham (1995, 2009a) and Bayer (2001, 2008) amongst others.

^{vi}Bulgarian is a type of language pertaining to this set. See Rudin (1988) amongst others for details.

^{vii}Japanese is member of this group. For details, see Richards (1997) amongst others.

^{viii}For this last set, see, German language (Cheng 1967) for example.

The noun class system in Mmen: A Center Ring Grassfields Bantu language

Mirjam Möller, Gothenburg University

Abstract

The paper describes the noun class system in Mmen which involves 13 noun classes, 6 singular classes and 7 plural classes. Each class is presented with its prefix(es) and examples of each double class genders are given. The data also show the many variations of less frequent pairings of singular and plural, and that class 4 has become a marginal noun class in Mmen.

Keywords: African linguistics, Grassfields Bantu languages, Proto-Ring, Center Ring Language, Mmen, Noun class, Noun class prefixes.

Introduction ⁱ

One of the common grammatical features within Niger-Congo, and maybe most obvious and well described, is the noun class system (Greenberg 1977:97). That all nouns are assigned to classes is also a prominent feature of Grassfield Bantu languages in Cameroon. Based on that knowledge this paper aims to answer; i) what are the noun classes in Mmen and ii) what are their singular/plural pairings as well as their single class genders?

Mmen (ISO 639-3: bfm) a Center Ring language of Narrow Grassfields, a subdivision of Wide Grassfields within the Southern Bantoid branch, is part of a cluster including six other languages: Babanki, Bum, Kom, Kuk, Kung and Oku (Lewis 2009). The language is also referred to as Bafumen, which is the name of the village in which the largest number of speakers is

found. Other villages where Mmen is spoken are Cha', Yemgeh, Nyos, Ipalim among others, as seen in *figure 32.1*.

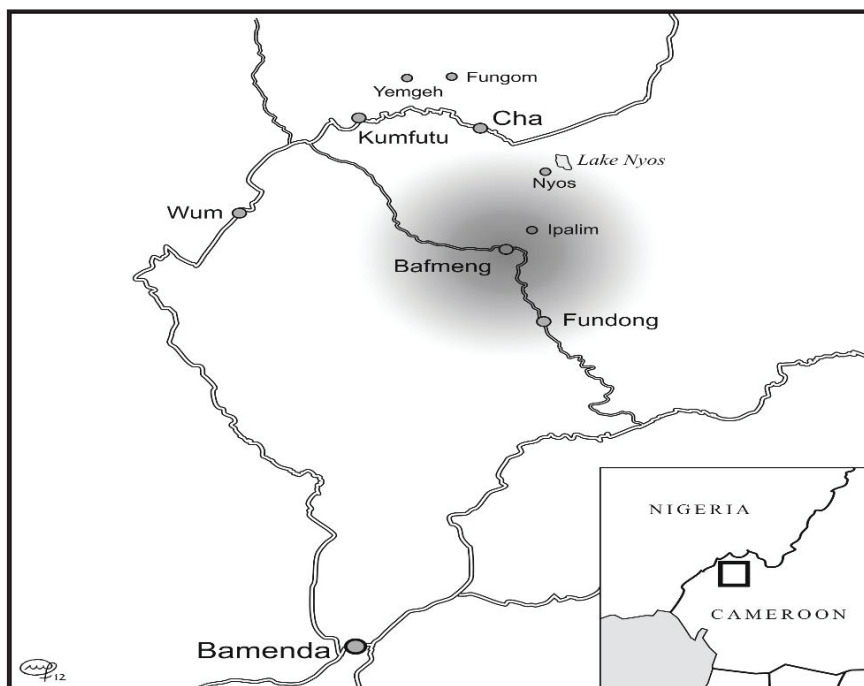


Figure32.1: The Mmen-speaking area.

There are several descriptions of noun class systems of neighbouring languages, whereof many have been carried out by Hyman, for example, *Noun classes in the Grassfield Bantu Borderland* (1980b), and *Babanki and the Ring group* (1980a).

More recent studies on Mmen have been carried out by Kiessling (2010). Previous linguistic reports involving the Mmen noun have been written by Agha-ah (1993) and Bangha (2003). However, the data and analysis presented in this paper give details and examples of synchronic variation that have not been presented in previous works.

The data were collected by the author through elicitation sessions and natural texts recorded with native speakers in Bafumen. A lexicon which included 2000 nouns was used to develop questionnaires of noun phrases. All examples are written with the Mmen orthography (Björkestedt 2011) with

the addition that glottal stop is spelt out with its IPA sign ʔ. Also, tone is marked according to its surface realisation, by using the accent marks: High ́, Mid ̂, and Low ̀ for level tones and HL ˆ, HM ˊ, ML ˋ, LH ˊˋ, MH ˋˊ, and LM ˊˋˊ for falling and rising contour tones.

The noun and the noun class system

Nouns in Mmen consist of a stem and a prefix, for example, *a-lím* “darkness”. There is also an optional initial vowel present when nouns with C-, CV- or Ø- prefixes are uttered in isolation, for example, *ǝ-fe-shúm* “famine”. The initial vowel /ǝ-/ can precede nouns from most classes, except those with V- prefixes, that is, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 and 8. Its presence seems optional. It is manifested mostly in isolation or in initial position. It is therefore, not considered part of the noun class prefixes. A formula of the morphological structure of the nouns is seen below:

(1) (Initial vowel) + Noun class prefix + Noun stem

A. The noun classes

Ring languages have several features in common in their noun class systems. The number of classes is quite large, with several frequent and less frequent combinations of singular and plural pairings (Watters 2003:240). There are some classes that not only take a prefix but are marked by a suffix instead, for example, class 10 *-se*. Class 4 have only a very small number of nouns which form plural with other classes as well, making it a marginal alternate class. Several Ring languages have a syllabic *m*-, as the noun prefix for class 6a, distinguishing class 6a from class 6. Below is a table of the noun classes and their prefixes in Proto-Ring, PR, as given by Hyman (1980a), together with Mmen and other Central Ring languages.

Class	PR	Mmen	Babanki	Kom ⁱⁱ	Bum
1	*ù-	w-, Ø-	Ø, Ñ-	Ø-	Ø, (à-)
2	*bá-	gh-, Ø-	và-	Ø-/(yā-)	-á
3	*ú-	e-	è-	ā-	ù-

4	*í-	(e-)	--	(ī-)	--
5	*í-	e-	à-	ī-	ì-
6	*á-	ə-	à	ā-	à-, -á
6a	*mè-	m-	mè-	mā-	m̀-, -mú
7	*kí-	a- / ke-	kè-	ā-	à-
8	*bí-	e-^(w)	è-	ā-, Ñ-	ù-, -ú
9	*Ø-, Ñ-	Ø-,`	Ø-, Ñ-	Ø-, Ñ-/Ñ-, ə-	Ø-, Ñ-, à
10	*'...-sí	se-	-sá	-sē	sè-, -sú
13	*tá-	te-	tà-	tā	tà-, -tú
19	*fá-	fe-	fè-	fā	fè-

Table 32. 1: Noun class affixes in Proto-Ring and Ring languages

Note: -- means that the class is absent in the language and () indicates a marginal noun class prefix

The following sections give examples from each noun class and their singular and plural pairings in Mmen. The tone marking for noun stems reflects the surface tone. The tone of the different prefixes manifest, in most cases, a M pitch on the surface, and is only marked when that is not the case.

Although there is no strict correlation between noun class and the semantic domains its nouns belong to, there are nouns of a few classes which do have an attribute in common. The groups are, however, too small to generalise the contents of each noun class and will be commented on only briefly.

B. Prefix and suffix alternation

The noun class prefix in Mmen is present when pronounced in isolation but can be deleted when there are other modifiers which take concords with the head noun for example (a)-kwùl **kí-má** “my dove cl.7”. The following examples from class 10 show how the prefix is omitted when followed by a modifier that takes concord with the head noun (2a), while (2b) display the class marker as a suffix instead of a prefix as in (2c).ⁱⁱⁱ The noun class prefixes are thus part of a complex class marker system, but has a syntactic function on its own only when not followed by determiners.

- (2) a. -shóyn s-íyn
 bag CL10-this
 “These bags”
- b. m̃ páʔà pàyn shóyn-sé
 1SG NEG hate bag - CL10
 “I don’t hate bags”
- c. m̃ kyí sē- shóyn
 1SG have CL10-bag
 “I have bags”

C. Class 1

The PR prefix for class 1 is *ù-. Agha-ah (1993) and Bangha (2003) give three alternant prefixes of class 1 that is /ǎ/preceding consonant initial stems, /ǎw-/ followed by vowel initial stems of rounded vowels for example ǎwùà “human”, and /ǎv-/ followed by unrounded vowels for example ǎváyyn “child”. This paper presents the /ǎ/ as the initial vowel rather than a class prefix on its own. Furthermore only two nouns take a w- or v- prefix, w-ùà “human” and v-áyyn “child”. Their corresponding reduced forms, w-ù and v-ǎ are used in associative constructions, and in compounds.

Other nouns display what seems to be a spreading of the labial feature of the w-/v-prefix, that is, wù **zh**óyn “woman” which is not found in the plural zánǎ “women”. Also **zh**wí “wife” and **pg**hà “father” manifest a labialisation of the first stem consonant. These words keep the labialisation also in plural, that is, **zh**wíá “wives” and **pg**ha’ “fathers”. However, the latter also has an alternate singular form: pè “father”. Furthermore there are nouns that seem to take an Ø- prefix, for example, Ø-ndōm “husband”, Ø-nyí/nî “grandmother” and Ø-sóyn “friend”.

D. Class 2

Class 2 has *bá as a prefix in PR. Both Agha-ah (1993) and Bangha (2003) give /ǎyǎ/ as the prefix for class 2. Again not many nouns in this class display a clear prefix but two nouns seem to have a /y/gh- prefix that is gh-í “humans”, gh-óyn

“children” together with its corresponding reduced form, *ghó* are used in compounds or associative constructions, for example, *fe-ghóyntâ* “small children”. Other nouns in this class take Ø-prefix, for example, Ø-*sóyn* “friends”.

E. Class 3

Nouns of class 3 take an *e-* prefix, for example, *e-lũ?* “place”, *e-ndóm* “road”, and *e-ké* “money”. Nevertheless, there are some nouns that involve a labial glide in class 3 as well. Kiessling (2010:201) suggests that the presence of a labial glide could be derived from the PR prefix *ú-*. The high and rounded feature of that prefix has then spread to the following consonant and caused it to be labialised. Only three examples were attested in the data displaying this process, that is, *e-lũŋ* “bamboo”, *e-ndwô* “stomach” and *etwóyn* “ceiling” compared to the plural, *e-lĩŋ* “bamboos”, *m-ndê* “stomachs”, and *mtáyn* “ceilings”.^{iv} Other nouns in this class involve the labial /w/ in the stem and present also in the plural form, for example, *e-lwô*, *te-lwô* “bridge(s)” and *e-kwĩ*, *m-kwĩ* “bed(s)”.

F. Class 4

Only a few nouns were found belonging to this plural class, for example, *e-ghĩ* “hundreds” and *e-lĩŋ* “bamboos”. Class 4 functions as an alternate class, since all nouns in this class also have a plural in class 13.^v The language consultants referred to the nouns in class 4 as used mainly by the older generation, while younger speakers tend to use the class 13 plural.

G. Class 5

Nouns within class 5 take an *e-* prefix, as in, *e-ndá?* “tribe”, *e-ndám* “life”, and *e-ngòm* “banana”.

H. Class 6

This plural class has an *ə-* prefix, for example, *ə-ndzĩs* “knees”, *ə-ghôŋ* “spears”, and *ə-lím* “yams”.

Class 6a

The PR prefix for class 6a is **mà-*. The class prefix in Mmen consists of the bilabial nasal *m-*. While the PR prefix of this class

carries a low tone the majority of nouns within class 6a manifest a M pitch on the prefix, for example, *m-ndá* “smoke”, *m-chí* “soil” and *m-lí* “walls”. Only 11 out of 115 simple stems in the data manifested a low tone prefix and notice that the tone then is present also on the nouns with a singular form found in class 19.

(3)	Singular	Plural	Gloss
	fè-kàm	m̀- kàm	“fist(s)”
	fè-tē	m̀- tē	“a fish”
	fè-chā?	m̀- chā?	“bicycle”

I. Class 7

This singular class is distinguished by its *a-* prefix, as in, *a-chá?* “mud”, *a-pé* “tiger” and *a-fghám* “cockroach”. Except the *a-* prefix there are four compounds belonging to class 7 which display a CV prefix: *ke-*, compare it to the PR **kí-*. The *ke-* prefix is replaced with the prefix *e-* of class 8 when forming plural.^{vi}

(4)	Singular	Plural	Gloss
	kè-tòlèmkàm	è-tòlèmkàm	“praying mantis”
	kè-tòṅópè	è-tòṅópè	“millipede(s)”
	kè-pghâshùṅè	è-pghâshùṅè	“roller”
	kè-pàṅàtsìṁ	è-pàṅàtsìṁ	“grass sp.”

Another two nouns manifest the same consonant initially, that is, *kè-tīm* “soldier” and *kè-ṅgé* “cripple”. In contrast to the former *ke-* prefix this initial CV sequence is never replaced, instead these words form plural through the associative construction with the word *ghí* “humans” (cl 2), that is, *ghà kètīm* and *ghà kèṅgé*.

J. Class 8

Nouns in class 8 have an *e-* prefix, for example, *e-chō?* “openers”, *e-fíl* “flies sp.” and *e-fóyn* “animal tracks”, but a number of nouns within this class display labialisation, palatalization and velarization. As Kiessling (2010:201) points out, it is most likely that the presence of a labial glide derive from the PR prefix, that is, *ú-* where the high and rounded feature of the prefix has spread to the following stem

consonant, causing it to be labialised. Since there are other noun class prefixes which also involve the vowel /e/ but do not manifest this change, that is, classes 4, 5, 13 and 19, the processes must be considered a morphological feature attributed to class 8. However, not all nouns in class 8 manifest a change of the initial stem consonant, for example, *a-chì*, *e-chì* “leg(s)”, *a-kós*, *e-kós* “knot(s)” and *a-fghá*, *e-fghá* “thing(s)”.

(5)	Singular (cl 7)	Plural (cl 8)	Gloss
Labialisation	a-mbò	e-mbwò	“fish”
	a-tâ?	e-twô?	“snail(s)”
	a-ndàn	e-ndwòn	“debt(s)”
	a-lân	e-lwôn	“law(s)”
	a-kóm	e-kwóm	“crab(s)”
	a-ghóf	e-ghwóf	“bone(s)”
Palatalisation	a-sâm	e-shôm	“toad(s)”
	a-sâs	e-shôs	“broom(s)”
	a-zâ?	e-zhó?	“mushroom(s)”
	a-tsê	e-chwô	“palm branch(s)”
Velarisation	a-pé	e-pghá	“leopard(s)”
	a-páyn	e-pgháyn	“fufu corn(s)”

K. Class 9

The majority of nouns within class 9 take a Ø- prefix, for example, Ø-*sháyn* “bag”, Ø-*fúŋ* “buffalo”, Ø-*tsī* “kidney”, Ø-*pū* “dog”, Ø-*shà* “gecko” and Ø-*tsèm* “dream”. The PR prefix for class 9 is *N̄- (Hyman 2003:49). A part of the nouns of class 9 within the database have an initial homorganic nasal. This N- in class 9 is however, never replaced by other prefixes when nouns are assigned to other classes for formation of plural or diminutive, for example, *fe-ndè-tà* “small house”. As the N- has merged with the stem, it is not considered a noun class prefix synchronically.

(6) Nasal	Singular	Plural	Gloss
/m/	mbī	se-mbī	“world(s)”
	mbà?	se-mbà?	“cloud(s)”
/n/	ndòn	se-ndòn	“sweet potato(s)”
	ndzîlè	se-ndzîlè	“cane rat(s)”
/ŋ/	ŋgó?	se-ŋgó?	“termite hill(s)”

ngàṇèchī se-ngàṇèchī “scorpion(s)”

The PR prefix also involve a low tone **Ṃ*-. 55 simple stems are realised with a L tone on the surface. If the low tone of these nouns is the result of a low tone feature attributed to this noun class, there should be a contrast when these roots appear in a different class, that is, plural class 10. Only three nouns manifest such a difference in tone, having a L tone in singular in class 9 and a H tone when forming plural with class 10:

(7)	class 9	class 10	Gloss
	nyàm	se-nyám	“animal(s)”
	pḥyn	se- pḥyn	“mountain(s)”
	kyà	se-kyá	“voice(s)”

L. Class 10

Nouns of class 10 in Mmen have a *se-* prefix when uttered in isolation, for example, *se-chā*? “bracelets”, *se-kì* “shield”, *se-kyílé* “flying ant”. The *se-* prefix is not only a plural marker of nouns but is also used for the infinitive form of verbs, for example, *se-pē* “to build”, *se-ndàm* “to put” and *se-chì* “to cry”.

M. Class 13

This plural class has a *te-*prefix, for example, *te-pî* “thighs”, *te-fê* “machetes” and *te-fîṇ* “bruises”.

N. Class 19

This singular class has *fe-* as prefix, for example, *fè-chá* “bow”, *fè-kàm* “fist” and *fè-kyì* “mouse”. Just like many other related languages this class is associated to diminutive. In most cases the *fe-* prefix replaces the prefix of the basic noun class prefix, but the words *fe-w-úà* “small child” and *fe-gh-óyn-tà* “small children” add the *fe-*prefix to the class 1 and 2 prefixes. The suffix *-tà* in many of these forms, present also in the stem *tētà* meaning “small”, follows the noun stem also in the plural, for example, *fe-tsòm-tààm* “small drum(s)”.

(8)	Example Cl	Gloss	Diminutive	Gloss
	e-kwi 3	“bed”	fe-kyî	“stool”
	e-ndóm 3	“road”	fe-ndôm-nè	“small road”
	a-pfà 7	“hut”	fe-pfà	“small hut”

a-tú	7	“head”	fe-tú-à	“small head”
Ø-ndè	9	“house”	fe-ndè-tà	“small house”
Ø-tsəm	9	“dream”	fe-tsəm-tà	“small dream”
fe-nyí	19	“knife”	fe-nyĩ-tà	“small knife”

I. Double class genders

Grassfields Bantu as well as Narrow Bantu language form many different pairings between the singular and plural classes, such pairings are also referred to as genders, nevertheless there are some pairings that are more common than others (Katamba 2003:109). The countable nouns in Mmen can be grouped into 7 regular pairings of singular and plural, that is, 1/2, 3/13, 5/6, 5/13, 7/8, 9/10 and 5/13. There are furthermore 9 less common pairs, that is, 1/10, 1/13, 3/4, 3/6a, 7/4, 7/6, 7/6a, 7/13 and 9/2. *Figure 32.1*, followed by examples in table 32.2, show the pairings of noun classes in Mmen.

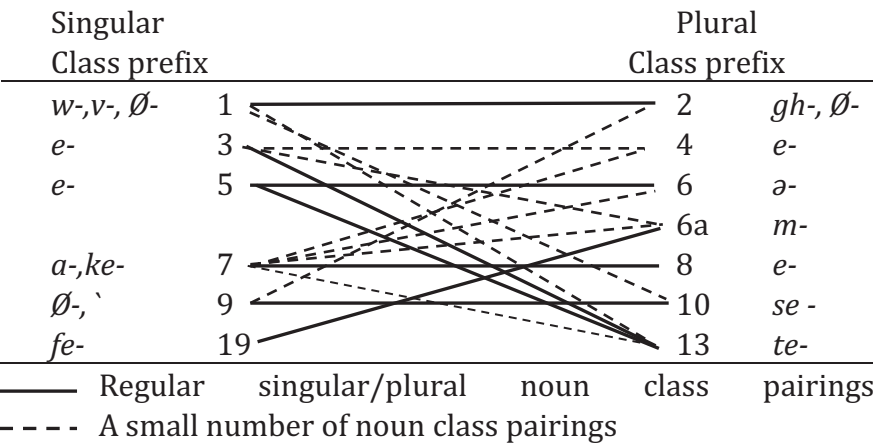


Figure32.2: Noun class pairings in Mmen

Figure 32.2: Noun class pairings in Mmen

Singular	Plural	Gloss	N ^o vii
1 w-ùə	2 gh-i	“human(s)”	111
1 fíf	10 se-fíf	“co-wife(s)”	2
1 fôyn	13 te-fôyn	“chief(s)”	1
3 e-wə	4 e-ghí	“hundred(s)”	2
3 e-kwî	6a m-kwî	“bed(s)”	12

3	e-lwô	13	te-lwô	"bridge(s)"	22
5	e-chí	6	ə-chí	"stone(s)"	34
5	e-zhísê	13	te-zhísê	"feast(s)"	232
7	a-chì	8	e-chì	"wound(s)"	317
7	a-kóyn	4	e-kóyn	"forearm(s)"	6
7	a-fû?	6a	m-fú?	"garden(s)"	12
7	a-ghó	6	ə-ghó	"hand(s)"	5
7	a-fghâ?	13	te-fghâ?	"obligation(s)"	9
9	Ø-ndē	10	sē-ndē	"houses(s)"	246
9	Ø-ndôm à mbvī	2	ndôm à sēmbvīē	"rooster(s)"	3
19	fe-tú?	6a	m-tú?	"day(s)"	172

Table 32.2: Singular and plural pairings

A. Gender1/2

Gender 1/2 form an irregular and small gender regarding prefixes, manifesting *w-/v-* and *gh-* for class 1 and 2 respectively, as well as Ø-. About 10 nouns are found within this gender, which are then used to form a great number of compounds. Kinship terms and most nouns referring to humans are found within this gender.

(9)	Singular	Plural	Gloss
	váyn	ghóyn	"child(ren)"
	wùè	ghí	"human(s)"
	zhwí	zhwíá	"wife(wives)"
	pghà	pghà	"father(s)"
	ndôm	ndóm	"husband(s)"
	sóyn	sóyn	"friend(s)"

Many nouns in this gender involve the word for "child" *váyn*, for example, *váyn zhóyn* "daughter/girl". Other nouns involve a reduced form of the same word, that is, *vâ*. Class 2 uses the plural *ghóyn* "children" and *ghó* respectively, for example, *ghóyn/ghó pō* "babies". Words as "finger" and "toe" are formed together with these words, that is, *vâ àghō* and *vâ àghōl* meaning "child of hand" and "child of foot" respectively.

(10)	Singular	Plural	Gloss
	vàyn ndòmè	ghóyn ndòmnè	"son/boy(s)"
	vâ váyn	ghó ghóná	"grandchild(ren)"

và ndze ghó (sé)ndzè “lamb(s)”

The word wù “human”, is found in many compounds formed with the associative construction N1 AM N2, for example, wù à tólm “messenger” and wù à tyàfǎ “giant” which literally means “man of message” and “man of height” respectively.

(11)	Singular	Plural	Gloss
	wù è shí	ghĩ shíá	“ancestor(s)”
	wù è chi	ghĩ chíá	“ghost(s)”
	wù è kwĩ	ghĩ kwíà	“traveler”
	wù zhĩá	ghĩ zhíá	“mad person(s)”
	wù tĩmsǎ	ghĩ tĩmsā	“dwarf(s)”
	wù zhóyn	záyn /zēnē	“woman(women)”

Some nouns manifest plural forms involving *ghà*, for example, *ghà-pghà* and *pghá* are both used referring to “fathers”. Two nouns from class 7 also form plural with *ghà*, that is, *kē-tĩm*, *ghà-kētĩm* “soldier(s)” and *kēngē*, *ghà-kēngē* “cripple(s)”.

(12)	Singular	Plural	Gloss
	nyĩ	ghè ní / nyĩ	“mother(s)”
	Pghà	ghè pghà /pghá	“father(s)”

B. Gender 1/10 and 1/13

Gender 1/2 contains nouns referring to human beings. But some few nouns manifest different plural pairing than that of class 2. One noun is found in class 1 in singular and class 10 in plural, that is, *fǐf*, *se-fǐf* “wife/wives”. Another noun has a clear *a-* prefix, that is, *à-tsàmtè* “cousin”, derived from class 7, but takes class 1 agreement, that is, *à-tsàmtè v-ĩm* for “my cousin” and not *kĩ-mā* (cl7), and also forms its plural with class 10, that is, *se-tsàmtè* “cousins”. The word for “chief” on the other hand forms its plural with class 13, that is, *fǒyn te-fǒyn* “chief(s)”.

C. Gender1~9/2

Other nouns that refer to humans and animals seem to alternate in their agreement marking. Since the class prefixes of class 1 and 9 are Ø-, the only way to find out which class a noun belongs to is through the agreement with determiners within

the noun phrase. The following examples were combined either as 1~9/2 or 9/10. Note that there is no plural like, for example, *se-sóyn* but *sóyn símsé* “my friends” was used by one consultant while others used *sóyn ghímá*.

- (13) Ø-sóyn v-ìm z-ìm
 CL1/9-friend CL1-my **OR** CL9-my
 “my friend”

Ø-sóyn gh-ímá s-ím-sé
 CL2-friend CL2-my **OR** CL10-my-CL10
 “my friends”

The derived forms *vā* and *ghó* from *váyn* “child” and *ghóyn* “children” respectively are used when referring to young of an animal, and also take agreements manifesting gender 1~9/2.

- (14) v-ā Ø-ndzè v-ìm z-ìm
 CL1-child CL9-sheep CL1-my **OR** CL9-my
 “My lamb”

gh-ó sé-ndzè gh-ím-á
 CL2-child CL10-sheep CL2-my-CL2
 “My lambs”

D. Gender 1~9/10

One noun that manifest two optional singular prefixes, that is classes 1 or 9 but take class 10 concords. Giving the alternate gender 1~9/10.

- (15) Ø-ndòm à ghó v-ìm z-ìm
 CL1/9-man CL1/9.AM hand CL1-my **OR** CL9.my
 “My thumb”

sé-ndōm s-á ghó s-ím-sé
 CL10-man CL10-AM hand CL10-my-CL10
 “My thumbs”

E. Gender 9/2

Nouns referring to animals are often found in class 9 forming plural with class 10, for example, *ndzè zìm* and *ndzè símsé* “my sheep”, *mbvā zìm* and *mbvā símsé* “my fowl(s)”. When describing an animal as female or male, the word for “mother”

nî and “man” “*ndôm*” are used respectively, where the singular takes agreement with class 9 and the plural with class 2, see example 16. Note that *ndôm à mbvā vîm* for “my rooster” was mostly considered incorrect though other speakers used it, while **ndôm á sémbvā símsé* for “my roosters” was rejected as a correct utterance.

(16) Ø-*ndôm* à Ø-*mbvī* z-*îm*
 CL1/9-man CL1/9.AM CL9-fowl CL9-my
 “My rooster”

Ø-*ndôm* á sé-*mbvī* gh-*ímá*
 CL2-man CL2.AM CL10-fowl CL2-my
 “My roosters”

F. Gender3/13

Hyman (1980a:231) reports for the closely related central ring language Babanki, that there is a gradual tendency for class 5 to be replaced by class 3, resulting in the following two genders: 3/6 and 3/13. Kiessling (2010:198) refers to class 3 as generally less productive in Mmen. The data involved about 30 nouns that showed class 3 belonging. A gradual replacement by class 5 could explain the few number of examples and the rise of a 3/13 gender.

(17) Singular	Plural	Gloss
<i>e-kwāŋ</i>	<i>te-kwāŋ</i>	“boundary(ies)”
<i>e-lû?</i>	<i>te-lû?</i>	“place(s)”
<i>e-túná</i>	<i>te-túná</i>	“ford(s)”
<i>e-lwâ</i>	<i>te-lwâ</i>	“bridge(s)”

G. Genders 3/4~13 and 7/4~13

Gender 3/4 and 7/4 are synchronically used as alternate genders to the genders 3/13 and 7/13 which are more frequently used, not least by younger speakers. This is probably because the plural class prefix *te-* is more distinctive than the one of class 4, *e-*. Nouns found within class 4 seem to have developed meaning in addition to the plural. For example, *e-lûŋ* “bamboo(s)” has the form *elûŋ* in class 4, which is rather used for referring to “a bundle of bamboos”, and the overt plural

class marker 13 *te-lîŋ/lûŋ* is used as the new default plural form.^{viii} A noun of class 7, *a-shîŋə* has together with its plural in class 4, *e-shîŋə* the meaning “time”, while its plural form with class 13, *te-shîŋə* refers to “watches”.

(18)	Singular	Cl	Plural	Cl	Plural	Cl	Gloss
	e-wā	3	e-ghí	4	te-ghí	13	“hundred(s)”
	a-pôŋ	7	e-pôŋ	4	te-pôŋ	13	“jaw(s)”
	a-fyâ?	7	e-fyâ?	4	te-fyâ?	13	“work”
	a-kóyn	7	e-kóyn	4	te-kóyn	13	“forearm(s)”
	a-fghéyn	7	e-fghéyn	4	te-fghéyn	13	“leg(s)”

H. Gender 3/6a

Only 12 nouns were found forming singular and plural pairing 3/6a, including nouns of different semantic domains.

(19)	Singular	Plural	Gloss
	e-wíyn	m-wíyn	“body(s)”
	e-ndwê	m-ndê	“abdomen(s)”
	e-kwî	m-kwî	“bed(s)”
	e-wūs	m-wūs	“gun(s)”
	e-fû	m-fû	“medicine(s)”
	e-ké	m-ké	“money”

I. Gender 5/6

This gender contains most nouns that refer to body parts, plants and fruits.

(20)	Singular	Plural	Gloss
	e-tám	ə-tám	“liver(s)”
	e-sóŋ	ə-sóŋ	“tooth(s)”
	e-yíyn	ə-yíyn	“breast(s)”
	e-lím	ə-lím	“yam(s)”
	e-kwíyn	ə-kwíyn	“bean(s)”
	e-sóm	ə-sóm	“oil palm tree(s)”

J. Gender 5/13

This gender contains same attributes as gender 5/6 but with an addition of abstract nouns, derived from verbs.

(21)	Singular	Plural	Gloss
	e-fóm	te-fóm	"brain(s)"
	e-mî	te-mî	"neck(s)"
	e-pî	te-pî	"cola nut(s)"
	e-ngòṁ	te-ngòṁ	"banana(s)"
	e-sáyṁ	te-sáyṁ	"sorrow(s)"
	e-zhyá	te-zhyá	"madness(s)"

K. Gender 7/8, 7/6 and 7/6a

Gender 7/8 is one of the main genders in Mmen. Nouns referring to things or objects used by humans are found within this gender. The four nouns within class 7 which display the prefix *ke-*, also form plural with class 8 for example *ke-pghāshūṇà*, *e-pghāshūṇà* "roller".

(22)	Singular	Plural	Gloss
	a-fghá	e-fghá	"thing(s)"
	a-ngyāṁ	e-ngyāṁ	"owl(s)"
	a-ngóṇé	e-ngóṇé	"ant(s)"
	a-záṁsé	e-zhóṁsé	"sugar cane(s)"
	a-kôṣ	e-kôṣ	"slave(s)"
	a-kwù?	e-kwù?	"deaf person(s)"

Only two nouns manifested the 7/6 pairing.

(23)	Singular	Plural	Gloss
	a-ghó	ə-ghó	"hand(s)"
	a-ghôl	ə-ghôl	"foot(feet)"

And another small group of nouns formed a pairing of 7/6a.

(24)	Singular	Plural	Gloss
	a-lí	m-lî	"wall(s)"
	a-chí	m-chí	"ground"
	a-fû?	m-fû?	"farm(s)"
	a-fóf	m-fóf	"wind(s)"

A. Gender 9/10

This gender contains the names of most animals. Loan words are also assigned to this gender regardless of their semantic content.

(25)	Singular	Plural	Gloss
	Ø-ananâs	se-ananâs	"pineapple(s)"
	Ø-pyê	se-pyê	"avocado(s)"
	Ø-pīyn	se-pīyn	"locust(s)"
	Ø-tòlèkí	se-tòlèkí	"tortoise(s)"
	Ø-pìŋ	se-pìŋ	"year(s)"
	Ø-tsò	se-tsò	"stream(s)"

B. Gender 19/6a

Gender 19/6a involves a number of names of animals and fruits. As mentioned earlier, class 19 is associated with diminutive and has therefore many nouns connected to smallness.

(26)	Singular	Plural	Gloss
	fe-chwĩ	m-chwĩ	"hare(s)"
	fè-tàmũ?	m-tàmũ?	"cat(s)"
	fè-mbámbà	m-mbámbà	"guava(s)"
	fe-tóm	m-tóm	"calabash(es)"
	fe-kâ?	m-kâ?	"wood(s)"
	fe-nyá?	m-nyá?	"prophecy(ies)"

C. Single class genders

Besides the double class genders there are also a number of nouns with no singular/plural distinction, those are referred to as single class genders.^{ix} The main single class genders in Mmen seem to be 5, involving many abstract nouns, and 6a, which involves many liquids. Some common mass nouns can take plural forms but with a slight difference in meaning, for example, *e-ké* (cl3) "money" *m-ké* (cl6a) "currencies", *e-ndû* (cl3) "honey", *te-ndû* (cl13) "cans of honey".

(27)	Example	Gloss	Example	Gloss
	e-tíàf	"height"	e-chá?	"laughter"
	e-ghá?á	"bigness, wealth"	e-zólê	"laziness"
	m-ndám	"blood"	m-yíyn	"milk"
	m-ká	"wine"	m-pfŋ	"flour"

D. Other single class genders

Other classes, that is, 3, 5, 6, 7 and 9, also contain a few nouns with no pairing. Some of the consultants used a double class gender for some nouns while others treated them as single class nouns, the optional class is presented within parenthesis in the examples given below. There are furthermore examples of borrowed words, for example, *a-nyòs* “onions” that take the agreement of class 7 and no other class.

(28)	Example	Cl	Gloss
	e-zhwí fghàfè	3/(6)	“cross road”
	ə-sánɲ	(5)/ 6	“guinea corn”
	a-myáʔà	7/(13)	“dew”
	ə-kwūn é kwàɲ	6	“rice”
	ə-shûɲ	6	“elephant grass”
	ə-pôʔ	6	“egusi”
	a-mòɲnè	7	“silent person”
	Ø-kánɲ	9	“corn beer”

II. Discussion and conclusion

This study has looked at the noun class system of Mmen. The singular classes: 1, 3, 5, 7, 9 and 19, and the plural classes: 2, 4, 6, 6a, 10 and 13, which together form 7 common genders. There are also 9 less frequent pairings which reflect the numerous possible variations of singular and plural combinations. Other nouns belong to single class genders: 5, 6 and 6a. Class 4 with its *e-* prefix only functions as an alternate class synchronically, as all nouns with a plural in class 4 also have a second plural in class 13, with its distinctive *te-* prefix. With this it seems that Mmen is undergoing reduction in its noun class system, as some classes are more frequent than other, especially with class 4 losing its function. A reduction of noun classes is also reflected in the numerous optional variations of pairings when forming genders, as one class marker can be assigned the default plural marker for several singular classes.

While describing the noun class system this study did not include the analysis of the underlying tone of the noun class

prefixes. Though no class entirely manifests a L tone prefix there are a number of nouns within class 1, 9 and 6a which manifest a L tone on the class prefix. A future study should take a closer look at the distribution of tone within the noun class system and noun phrase of Mmen.

Abbreviations

1	Prefix for class 1	2	Prefix for class 2, etc.
AM	Associative marker	C	Consonant
Cl	Noun class	DEM	Demonstrative
H	High pitch	HL	High-low pitch
HM	High-mid pitch	IV	Initial vowel
L	Low pitch	M	Mid pitch
ML	Mid-low falling pitch	N	Noun
N-	Homorganic nasal	PL	Plural
PR	Proto-Ring	SG	Singular
V	Vowel		

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ⁱⁱThe tones for the prefixes in Kom are presented as they are given by Yuh (1986:25). Both Yuh (ibid: 26) and Hyman (Hyman 1980a:248) include a /yɑ-/ prefix in class 2 while Shultz (1997:12) analyses the class 2 prefix as Ø.

ⁱⁱⁱSeveral neighbouring languages e.g. Oku and Kom (Hyman 1980a:248) have a suffix instead of a prefix for class 10. Interestingly the **gh-** prefix is not substituted, like other class prefixes, when derived to the diminutive class 19.

^{iv}Kom and Aghem are examples of related languages which also involve labialisation of the first stem-consonant in class 3 nouns (Hyman 2005:316).

^vThe related languages Babanki and Bum do not display a class 4, and among languages where class 4 is found e.g. Kom and Oku, it only functions as a marginal class or alternant (Hyman 1980a:248).

^{vi}Based on the fact that the majority of noun stems in Mmen are monosyllabic nouns with three syllables are most likely compounds.

^{vii}These numbers include compounds.

^{viii}The same word in Kom belongs to class 4 (Shultz 1997:12) while in Babanki it takes gender 5/13 (Hyman 1980:233).

^{ix}The neighbouring language Kom manifests nouns of single class genders in several classes i.e. 3, 5, 6a, 7 and 13 (Yuh 1986). While Babanki has single class nouns within e.g. 3, 5, 6 and 6a (Akumbu).

Pied-piping, remnant movement and clause structure in Muyang

Edmond Biloa, Université de Yaoundé I

Abstract

This article analyses aspects of clause structure and word order in Muyang in terms of Kayne's (1994, 2011) anti-symmetry approach and Rizzi's split CP approach (1997, 2001, 2004). The focalization of any of the sentence constituents (except the VP) disrupts the language word order which is normally SVO, giving the impression that focused constituents move downward. The word order of such constructions is derived by pied-piping of the targeted phrase into Spec, FocP and by remnant movement of IP into Spec, ForceP. These two syntactic operations are, additionally, attested in yes/no questions and matrix wh-questions. Evidence is provided that FocP is not a phase but ForceP is.

The analysis accounts for the distribution of two morphemes that occur in relativization and cleft formation: *yati* is hosted by [Rel, RelP], while *ni*, which closes off the relative clause, behaves like a clause-final complementizer. NP-movement and remnant movement are responsible for the derived word order, providing thereby, once more, evidence that all word orders are derived by movement.

Key words: *clause structure, left periphery, pied-piping, remnant movement, phase, focalization, relative phrase (RelP), relativization.*

I. Introduction

Since the inception of the LCA-based theory of syntax, it is customary to assume that:

No rightward adjunction movement rules are permitted, no right-adjunctions are permitted in the base; there is never a choice available between multiple left-adjunctions and multiple heads, each with one specifier; no right-hand specifier positions are available; no left-hand complement positions are available; and all the advantages in the restrictiveness of binary-branching are maintained. (Kayne 1994:132)

The Muyaŋ empirical material analyzed in this research piece appears to be a matter of considerable annoyance for the restrictiveness of anti-symmetric syntax in that, on the surface, the focalized element seems to have moved rightward downward and landed in clause final position. This, obviously, seems to run counter to the widely held view that traces generated by the extraction of items (heads or phrases) should be asymmetrically c-commanded by their antecedents. There appears, then, to be a bone of contention between the Muyaŋ data and linguistic theory.

However, under close scrutiny, the Muyaŋ situation seems to be similar to the complementizer-final languages (or constructions) (Kayne 1994:48; 53). As argued by Kayne:

‘In a language where IP precedes C⁰, IP must have moved leftward into Spec-CP (p. 48). Or “...final complementizers reflect the leftward movement of IP into Spec-CP” (p.53). Other categories can undergo such rising: “In an OV language (or construction) the O must necessarily have moved leftward past the V into a higher specifier position” (p. 48)’.

In terms of ‘the fine structure of the left periphery’ proposed by Rizzi (1997, 2001b, 2004), it is advocated that in Muyaŋ the focused element substitutes for Spec, FocP, subsequently followed by the pied-piping of the clause (IP) to Spec, ForceP, illustrating thereby a typical case of remnant movement and heavy pied-piping (Nkemnji 1995, Pollock et al. 1999, Koopman and Szabolcsi 2000, Pollock 2000, Kayne and Pollock 2001, Cecchetto 2004, Poletto and Pollock 2004).

Conditions on subextraction, pied-piping and remnant movement in Muyang constitute the focus of inquiry of this research endeavor. Following Koopman and Szabolcsi (2000:4), the above mentioned raising operations are defined as follows:

1. Extraction

Only (full) specifiers and (full) complements on their own projection line are extractable.

2. Pied-piping

A category XP can be pied-piped by YP if XP is in the specifier of YP or X adjoins to Y.

3. Remnant movement

A category XP containing the trace of an extracted element can move to a position that c-commands the extracted element.

Central in the account of the Muyang empirical material is the idea formulated by Kayne (2011:2, (1)) according to which ‘Movement differences exhaust the universe both of word order differences and of morpheme order differences’.

II. Muyang classification and word order

Muyang is an Afro-asiatic, central Chadic language spoken in the upper north region of Cameroon. Its word order is SVO:

(4) Lawan á- lén ahay

Lawan 3sg build House

“Lawan builds a house”

This word order is not altered by negation:

(5) Lawan á- lén ahay Bi

Lawan 3sg build house Neg

“Lawan does not build a house”

A. Focalization

Consider the following Muyang sentence:

(6) Lawan á vi mota ana Bebey aweni

Lawan 3sg give car to Bebey Yesterday

“Lawan gave Bebey a car yesterday”

In (6), any one of the phrases (except the VP) can be focalized, as illustrated by the following sentences:

(7) a. yati — á vi mota ana Bebey aweni ni Lawan

It is 3sg give car to Bebey yesterday def. Lawan

“It is Lawan who gave Bebey a car”

b. *yati* Lawan á vi— ana Bebey aweni ni mota

It is Lawan 3sg give to Bebey yesterday def. car

“It is a car that Lawan gave to Bebey”

c. *yati* Lawan á vi mota aweni— ni ana Bebey

It is Lawan 3sg give car yesterday def. to Bebey

“It is to Bebey that Lawan gave a car yesterday”

d. *yati* Lawan á vi mota ana Bebey— ni aweni

It is Lawan 3sg give car to Bebey def. yesterday

“It is yesterday that Lawan gave Bebey a car”

In the constructions illustrated in (7), the element that is focalized systematically shows up in clause-final position. If sentence (6) is intuitively considered to be the base from which the constructions in (7) are generated, it descriptively seems to be the case that the focalized item undergoes rightward movement to the sentence-final position. In (7), the position supposedly and initially occupied by the focused element has been substituted for by a dash. Moreover, *yati* occurs in clause-initial position when an item within the clause is focalized. For the time being, it is being translated as *it-is*. More details will follow later.

On the other hand, *ni* accompanies and precedes the focalized element. Tony Smith (2003) and Theodore Bebey (2010) both argue that *ni* is a mark of definiteness. Muyang speakers (would) use *ni* in order to determine the defined characteristics/properties of the following words. When *ni* precedes a noun or a group of nouns, it functions like a determiner. Attention will be brought back to *ni* later on as it will be shown that it behaves like a clause-final complementizer in Muyang (see section 10).

In (7), the following constituents are focalized: the subject of the verb, the direct object complement, the indirect object complement and the time adverb (ial).

Now, consider the following sentence:

(8) Moweley á Hí ana Tehpedek kado Lawan á vi mota
 Moweley 3sg Tell to Tehpedek that Lawan 3sg give car
 ana Bebey awɛni
 to Bebey yesterday

“Moweley told Tehpedek that Lawan gave a car to Bebey”

(8) is a complex sentence that is made up of a main clause and an embedded one. In the following constructions, the subject and the prepositional object of the main clause in (8) are focalized:

(9) a. yati —á hí ana Tehpedekkado Lawan a vi mota
 It is 3sg tell to Tehpedek that Lawan 3sg give car
 ana Bebey awɛni ni Moweley
 to Bebey yesterday def. Moweley

“It is Moweley who told Tehpedek that Lawan gave a car to Bebey”

b. yati Moweley á hí— kado Lawan á vi mota

it is Moweley 3sg tell that Lawan 3sg give car

ana Bebey awɛni ni ana Tehpedek
 to Bebey yesterday def. to Tehpedek

“It is to Tehpedek that Moweley told that Lawan gave a car to Bebey yesterday”

Descriptively speaking, in (9a-b), the subject and the indirect object complement that originate from the main clause in (8) occur in sentence-final position(s) because they have been focalized. Apparently and given the constructions provided in (9), the rightward movement of the focalized items can take place across clause boundaries.

B. Is Muyaƚ focalization lowering (rightward movement)?

Kayne (1994:47) states that

‘If syntactic theory allowed lowering a phrase to a position C-Commanded by the original position, such movement would have to be rightward. If lowerings are not available at all, as

Chomsky's (1993) proposals would lead one to expect, then that possibility can be set aside.'

On the basis of this position, it is difficult to argue that focalization in Muyang is a case of lowering or rightward movement. For one thing, the focused element is systematically hosted in clause-final position wherefrom it does not c-command its original position (or the trace created by its supposed movement). On the other hand, the latter position (or trace) is not c-commanded by the supposedly extracted focalized element. So, if lowering (or rightward movement) is appealed to in order to account for the position at the end of the clause of the focalized element, t

- (10) a. Lawan á dzégáy awák
 Lawan 3sg keep Goats
 "Lawan keeps goats"
- b. yati— á dzégáy awák ni Lawan
 it is 3sg keep goats def. Lawan
 "It is Lawan who keeps goats"

His argument 'can be excluded by a familiar requirement to the effect that every trace must be systematically c-commanded by its antecedent, see Fiengo (1987).' (Kayne 1994:47).

Bebey (2010:83) argues that in a cleft construction such as (10b), derived from (10a).

The focalized NP moves and lands downstairs in Spec, FocP, as illustrated in the following phrase marker:

- (11)
- [_{FocP}[_{Spec}[_{Foc}Yati]_{AgrP}[_{Spec}t_i]_{Agrá}[_{VP}[_{Spec}[_vdzégáy]_{NP}awák]_{DP}[_Dni]_{NP}Lawani]]]]]]

Bebey (2010:85) acknowledges the fact that the c-command relation cannot obtain between the focalized NP and its alleged trace; therefore the Binding Condition (Radford 2009:63) cannot apply to the Muyang facts. This analysis falls short of suggesting an explanation as to why the c-command relation and the Binding Condition account for other empirical materials and not for the Muyang ones. One of the core reasons

for doubting the validity of the above derivation might stem from the ‘antisymmetric prohibition against right-hand specifiers’ (Kayne 2011: 4). Which is another way of saying that ‘all movement must be leftward’ (Kayne 1994, 2011).

C. **Muyang focalization involves the leftward raising of ip into SPEC, CP**

In the following lines, the split-CP analysis developed by Luigi Rizzi (1997, 2001b, 2004) is adopted. It is suggested that CP should be split into a number of different projections – an analysis widely referred to as the split-CP hypothesis (Radford 2004, 2009). Rizzi argues that complementizers (by virtue of their role in specifying whether a given clause is declarative, interrogative, imperative or exclamative in force) should be analyzed as force markers heading a ForceP (Force Phrase) projection, and that focused constituents should be analyzed as contained within a separate FocP (Focus Phrase) headed by a foc constituent (Focus marker). Similarly, when a relevant movement operation marks a raised constituent as the topic of the sentence, the construction is said to be topicalization. Rizzi suggests that just as focused constituents occupy the specifier position of a focus phrase, so too topicalized constituents are hosted by the specifier position of a Topic Phrase (TopP).

Rizzi (2001b) proposes another maximal projection IntP (Interrogative Phrase, for which see also Nkemnji 1995), the specifier position of which can host specific interrogative operators such as *percheù* “why” in main and embedded clauses or interrogative particles such as *se* “if” or “whether” (in embedded clauses in Italian).

Having briefly sketched out the split CP analysis, let us return to the Muyang data. In fact, the position argued for from now on is that focused elements occur in Muyang clause final position because IP moves leftward into Spec-ForceP: it is a typical case of what is known in the literature as heavy pied-piping (see Nkemnji 1995). Now, consider the following phrase marker assigned to sentence (6):

(12)

[_{AgRP}[_{Spec}Lawan[_{Agá}[_{VP}vi[_{NP}mota[_{PP}[_{Spec}[_{pana}[_{NP}Bebey[_{ModP}[_{Spec}[_{Mod}aweni]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]
 Lawan 3sg give car to Bebey yesterday

“Lawan gave Bebey a car yesterday”

Given the tree representation illustrated in (12), in order to obtain a construction such as (13) below,

(13)a.yati— á Vi mota ana Bebey Aweni ni Lawan
It is 3sg give car to Bebey yesterday def. Lawan

“It is Lawan who gave a car to Bebey yesterday”

Not only should IP move to the Spec, ForceP position, but it is also important to indicate what position the focalized NP *ni Lawan* gets to occupy. In (13a), if indeed the grammatical subject of sentence (13) is focalized as it should be, then logically it should occupy the Spec, FocP position. This is tantamount to saying that two movement operations have taken place in order to derive a construction such as (13a): (i). the raising of the grammatical subject from Spec, AgrP to Spec, FocP; and (ii). the movement of AgrP (IP) to Spec, ForceP. Let us see how this reasoning works in practice in the following tree structure.

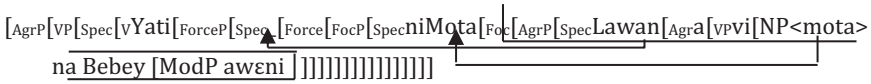
(13b)

[AgrP [VP [Spec [vYati [ForceP [Spec _____] Force FocP [Spec ni Lawan [Foc [AgrP [Spec <ni Lawan>] Agr a [VP vi
mota ana Bebey...]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]

As illustrated in (13b), the NP in subject position has raised from the Spec, AgrP position to the Spec, FocP position in order to be focalized. Then the IP (AgrP in our terminology) has migrated to the specifier position of ForceP. So the raising of the subject NP precedes the migration of IP. Both movement operations are leftward raising strategies, as logically expected in this system and no questions about the licensing conditions of the traces thereby generated should arise. In the following construction and its phrase structure tree representation, it is the direct object complement that is focused and the AgrP is heavily pied-piped:

(14) a. yati Lawan á vi- ana Bebey aweni
it is Lawan 3sg give to Bebey yesterday
ni mota
def. car
‘‘It is a car that Lawan gave to Bebey yesterday’’

(14) b.



In (14b), two movement operations are illustrated: first, the direct object complement NP substitutes for the specifier position of FocP, signifying thereby that it is focalized; second, the AgrP (IP) is raised to the specifier position of the Force Phrase: this derivation explains the resulting word order whereby AgrP is closed off by the focused constituent, given that ForceP precedes and dominates FocP. On the basis of the translation of *yati* “it-is” provided by Bebey (2010:56), this element has been positioned as the head V of a VP, contra Bebey who, at times, treats it as a focus marker (or a focalizer). For, if *yati* were a focus marker, it would be expected to occupy Foc; the head of Focus Phrase; but in this case the word order would have been: **nimotayati*. Furthermore, *yati* is clause initial, therefore behaving more cross-linguistically like a copula than a focalizer, while the focused constituent is clause-final. So for the time being, assume that *yati* is a presentative (or an introductive) copula that introduces a focus construction just like *it is* does for English clefts.

The clause-typing in (14b) is done via ForceP. But the question is how can one justify the valuation of the features on Foc (+Foc, +EPP) and the subsequent raising of the NP-element into Spec, FocP? Focusing in Muyang is morphologically marked which accounts for why the head of FocP lacks a Foc morpheme. The PF realization is reinforced overtly by the presence of the cleft-morpheme *yati* and the so called definitizer *ni*. In other words, the presence of the cleft morpheme (marker) *yati* and the definitizer *ni* helps to complement overtly the focus strategy in Muyang. Since the FocP head is morphologically null in Muyang, the EPP feature cannot be valued overtly to cause raising of the NP element into Spec of FocP. Raising into these positions is by default and it is phonologically constrained at the interfaces (PF, LF).

Having seen how a simplex construction can be derived in Muyang, consider a complex one that is a complex sentence comprising a main clause and a subordinate one and in which

(15) a. Moweleyá hí ana Tehpedek kado Lawaná
Moweley 3sg tell to Tehpedek that Lawan 3sg
vi mota ana Bebeyaweni
give car to Bebey yesterday

b. yati —á hí ana Tehpedekkado Lawan á vi
It is 3sg tell to Tehpedekthat Lawan 3sg give
mota ana Bebey awëni ni Moweley
car to Bebey yesterday def. Moweley

c. yati Moweley á hí— kado Lawan á vi mota ana
 it is Moweley 3sg tell that Lawan 3sg give car to
 Bebeyawēni ni ana Tehpedek
 Bebey yesterday def. to Tehpedek

To see how the derivation in (15b) operates, let us take a look at the following tree structure:

[illegible]

772

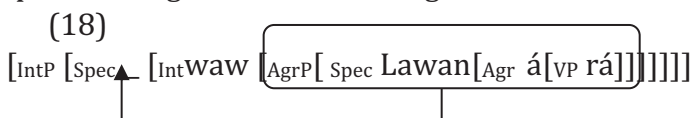
D. Yes/no questions

In Muyaŋ yes/no questions, it seems to be the case that a heavy pied-piping process is also operative. To illustrate how it works, consider the following constructions:

- (17) a. Lawan á rá b. Lawan á rá waw
 Lawan 3sg come Lawan 3sg come Int
 “Lawan comes /is coming” Does Lawan come?/Is Lawan coming?”

Waw is the interrogative/question marker in this language. It necessarily occurs at the end of the clause and it transforms an assertive clause into an interrogative, as (17a-b) show it.

Adopting Rizzi's (2001b) theory of phrase structure, assume that *waw* is hosted by Int⁰ of IntP. The latter maximal projection dominates AgrP (the clause) for *waw* to have scope over it. Now, in order to derive the word order attested at PF, the clause is pied-piped into the Spec,IntP position that dominates and precedes AgrP, in the following manner:



The pied-piping of AgrP into Spec, IntP is accounted for by Chomsky's (1993) Extension Condition: as soon as a head is merged, movement into its specifier is obligatory (see also Koopman and Szabolcsi 2000:42).

E. Matrix wh-questions

Muyaŋ *wh*-words are classified below into arguments, referential and non-referential adjuncts:

- (19) a. Arguments: **way** “who”, **mam** “what”
 b. Referential adjuncts: **ananaw** “when”, **aley** where”
 c. Non-referential adjuncts: **ahmamam** “how”, **kanam** “why”, **ehmey** “how much/how many”.

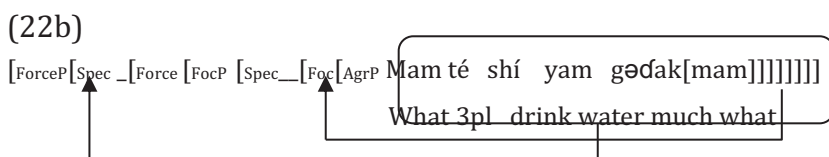
F. Argument extraction

When arguments are used in root questions, a copy of the *wh*-word occurs in clause-final position while another copy appears in clause-initial position. This is illustrated below in the context of subject extraction:

- (20) a. Lawan á sawađáy a géli

- Lawan 3sg walk in farm
 “Lawan walks in the farm”
- b. way- á sawaǵáy a géli way?
 who 3sg walk in farm who
 “Who walks in the farm?”
- (21) a. krá té shí yam gəǵak
 dogs 3pl drink water much
 “Dogs drink much water”
- b. mam- té shí yam gəǵak mam?
 what 3pl drink water much what
 “What drinks much water?”

In (20b) and (21b), argument *wh*-items appear in duplicate. The occurrence of one copy in clause-final position suggests that the *wh*-phrase is focused, as is usually the case cross-linguistically. If that is the case, the copy of the *wh*-word in clause-end position moves to the Spec, FocP whereas the other copy at the beginning of the clause is pied-piped along with the latter structure to Spec, ForceP, in now familiar fashion:



The pattern of argument *wh*-words doubling is attested in longer constructions, as (23 b-c) below illustrate:

- (23)a. Lawan á vi mota ana Amina Aweni ahay vu
 Lawan 3sg give car to Amina yesterdayhouse in
 a kalatal ga túi magrani
 in hiding to work do

“Lawan surreptitiously gave a car to Amina in the house in order for her to do the job”

- b. way— á vi mota ana Amina aweni ahay vu

Who 3sg give car to Amina yesterday house in
 a kalatal ga túi magrani way?
 in hiding to work do who
 “Who surreptitiously gave a car to Amina in the house in order
 for her to do the job?”

c. Lawan á vi mam ana Amina aweni ahay vu
 Lawan 3sg give what to Amina yesterday house in
 a kalatal ga túi magrani mam?
 In Hiding to work do what
 “What did Lawan give surreptitiously to Amina in the house in
 order for her to do the job?”

The derivation of (23b-c) should proceed in familiar manner
 as the ones in (22a-b) above. *mam-té shí yam gəḁak*

F. Adjunct extraction

Adjuncts, be they referential or not, are not duplicated.
 They, however, behave like focused elements in that they show
 up at the end of the clauses just like focalized NPs:

(24) a. Lawan á vi mota—Aweni Ahay vua kalatal
 Lawan 3sg give car yesterday House in in hiding
 ga tui magrani ana way?
 to Work do to Whom

“To whom did Lawan surreptitiously give a car in the house
 yesterday in order for her/him to do the
 job?”

b. Lawan á vi mota ana Amina —ahay vua
 Lawan 3sg give car to Amina House in in
 kalatal ga túi magrani ananaw?
 hiding to work do when

“When did Lawan surreptitiously give a car to Amina in the house in
 order for her/ to do the job?”

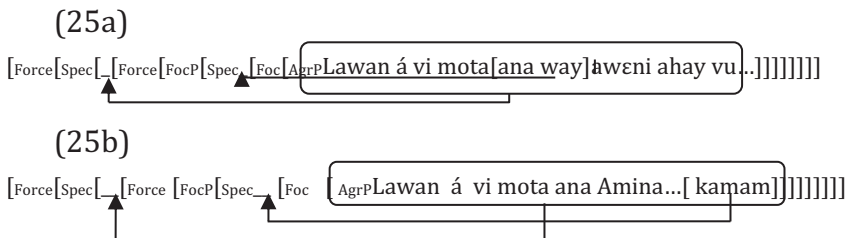
c. Lawan á vi mota ana Amina aweni ahay
 Lawan 3sg give car to Amina yesterday house

vu- ga túi magrani ahmamam?
 in to work do how

“How did Lawan give a car to Amina yesterday in the house
 in order for her to do the job?”

d.Lawan á vi motaanaAminaaaweni ahay vu
 Lawan 3sggive car to Aminayesterday house in
 a kalatal—kamam?
 in Hiding why
 “Why did Lawan surreptitiously give a car to Amina
 yesterday in the house?”

Notice that in (24a), the prepositional phrase *anaway* “to whom” has been extracted: it behaves like an adjunct wh-phrase in that it is not repeated. Not surprising as PPs are considered to be adjuncts. The above constructions are derived just like the previous ones: the adjunct is raised to the Spec, FocP position followed by the clausal pied-piping of the remaining AgrP.



(25a-b) are the derivations of (24a) and (24d).

III. Remnant movement

The Muyang data discussed and illustrated above are reminiscent of remnant movement which is typical of configurations such as the one below (Cecchetto 2004:166):

(26) [Z... t_x...]...X...t_z...

In (26), X raises from the constituent Z and lands in a position from which it c-commands its trace. After the movement of X, Z, which contains the trace of the latter, moves as well, thereby destroying the configuration in which the trace of X was linearly c-commanded by its antecedent? It is the raising of Z in (26) that is usually called ‘remnant movement’ (Koopman and Szabolcsi 2000, Cecchetto 2004, Poletto and Pollock 2004).

The licitness of the Muyang data analyzed above seems to suggest that the c-command requirement on the movement of a constituent X can be satisfied once, even if the configuration

containing the c-command relationship is later destroyed. Data from English, Italian and German described and discussed by Cecchetto (2004:169-170), show that remnant movement effects are lacking in configurations such as (26) above:

(27) [t₁ pass the exam]₂ John₁ indeed will t₂

(28) [Fired t₁ by the company]₂ John₁ indeed was t₂

(29) [andato t₁ a casa]₂ Gianni₁ non è t₂

gone to house Gianni NEG is

(30) Gelesen hat Hans das Buch nicht

read has Hans the book NEG

Cecchetto takes the examples (27)-(30) to be *prima facie* evidence that configuration (26) is licensed by Universal Grammar.

IV. FocP is not a phase but ForceP is

Chomsky (2001) claims that syntactic operations involve a relation between a probe P and a local goal G which is sufficiently close to the probe. He indicates, furthermore, that ‘the P, G relation must be local’ in order ‘to minimize search’ (Chomsky 2001:13); that is, ‘in order to ensure that a minimal amount of searching will enable a probe to find an appropriate goal’ (Radford 2009:323). If locality is necessary/important in order ‘to minimize search’, this implies that the Language Faculty, as Radford puts it, ‘can only process limited amounts of structure at one time, and can only hold a limited amount of structure in its “active memory”’ (Chomsky 1999:9).

So, for Chomsky (1999:9), the ‘reduction of computational burden’ is made easier if the ‘derivation of EXP (ressions) proceeds by phase’, so much so that ‘syntactic structures are built up one phase at a time’ (Radford 2009:323). Chomsky (2001:14) indicates that ‘phases should be as small as possible, to minimize memory’, and that they are ‘propositional’ in nature, and include CP and transitive VP (Chomsky 1999:9) (i.e. a VP with an AGENT or EXPERIENCER external argument, denoted as v*P). ‘His rationale for taking CP and v*P as phases is that CP represents a complete clausal complex (including a specification of *force*), and v*P represents a complete thematic (argument structure) complex (including an external argument)’ (Radford 2009:324).

When all the operations have been completed within a given phase, the domain of the phase (i.e. the complement of its head) becomes impenetrable to further syntactic operations. Chomsky calls this condition the *Phase Impenetrability Condition* (PIC), which is formulated by Radford (2009:324) as follows:

(31) *Phase Impenetrability Condition* (PIC)

The c-command domain of a phase head is impenetrable to an external probe (i.e. a goal which is c-commanded by the head of the phase is impenetrable to any probe c-commanding the phase).

The phase-based theory of syntax has implications in the application of A-bar movement operations. In particular, since CP is a phase, this means that its domain (i.e. its complement) will undergo transfer, and consequently neither IP nor any of the constituents of IP will subsequently be accessible to further syntactic operations. More precisely, IP and IP constituents are all frozen in place when IP undergoes transfer (Radford 2009:331; for details on the notion of Criterial Freezing, see Rizzi and Shlonsky 2005:1).

Returning to the Muyang empirical material, recall that when an item is focused, it raises from its base position to the specifier position of FocP; this raising is subsequently followed by the pied-piping of the remaining IP (AgrP) to Spec, ForceP which is a case of remnant movement. These two movement operations are indicative of the fact that IP (AgrP) is not opaque to any syntactic operation and therefore the maximal projection that dominates it i.e. FocP is not a phase. However, the one that precedes and dominates FocP, i.e. ForceP is a phase since no elements contained by/within FocP are amenable to further movement. The Claim by Cecchetto (2004:179) lends support to the above conclusion. In effect, he indicates that the following empirical generalization can capture the selective distribution of Remnant Movement Effects.

(32) Configuration (26) is permitted when X does not go as far as targeting the edge of the phase that is next highest with respect to the phase in which X originates.

The above theorem of the theory of phases accounts for the fact that in Muyaŋ the focalized element *X* raises to Spec, FocP and remains there. Remnant movement takes the rest of IP and sends it to Spec, ForceP, but the raising of *X* (the focalized material) does not target it (since it is the edge of the next highest phase, ForceP).

V. The status of *yati* revisited

It was said at the outset of this research work that *yati* is a copula that is translated as *it-is*. That is why it was said to be the head of VP. Bebey (2010), on the other hand, argues that *yati* is the head of FocP. That is, *yati* is a focalizer (Bebey 2010:63-84). Moreover, he indicates that *yati*, in certain contexts, also occupies the head of a relative phrase (following research done by Biloa on Tuki). First of all, based on our analysis of focalization above, it was argued that the focused NP raises to Spec, FocP and that the remnant IP moves to Spec, ForceP. In the resulting structure, *yati* precedes the clause in Spec, ForceP and the latter precedes and dominates FocP. Consequently, for word order considerations, *yati* can hardly be argued to be hosted by Foc⁰ (as does Bebey). But his viewpoint based on Biloa (in progress) that *yati* is Rel⁰ (the head of Relative Phrase) is likely to be on the right track. Biloa argues that in Tuki a RelP can precede and dominate a ForceP and a FocP in this order: RelP > ForceP > FocP > AgrP as illustrated by the following grammatical sentence:

33)

mutu ódzú éé áné ódzú a- dingám a- nom **(Tuki)**

man relative that who Foc SM loves SM sick

“The man that who loves is sick?”

The above sentence is structurally represented as follows (irrelevant details omitted):

(34) [AgrP[NP[N' [N mutu [RelP[Rel' [Rel ódzú [ForceP[Force' [Force eùèù [FocP ánéù [Foc' [Foc ódzú]]]]]]]]]]]...]]AgrP

(35) a. zlam yati leli má gráy- ni á gédavá
 thing Rel. we 1pl do def. 3sg spoil
 ‘The thing that we did is spoiled’

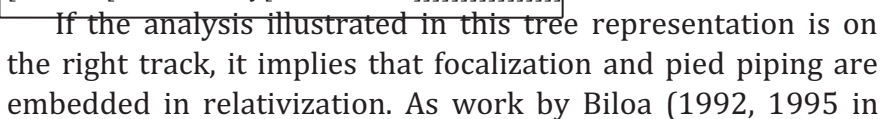
In (35b), the subject NP of the sentence is relativized and *yati* is considered to be the relativizer: that is why it occupies the head of RelP, Rel⁰. In this case, the specifier position of RelP is said to be occupied by a null operator. If the relativized NP could occupy the Spec, RelP position, there would be overt agreement between it and *yati*, which is not the case, obviously.

(35c)

yati-	á	vi	mota	ana	Bebey	aweni	ni	Lawan
Rel.	3sg	give	car	to	Bebey	yesterday	def.	Lawan

"It is Lawan who gave Bebey a car yesterday"

(36)



progress) on Tuki shows, such phenomena are not uncommon in African languages.

VI . The status of *ni* revisited

When focalization was discussed from section 2 to 4, it was noticed that a phonetically realized morpheme *ni* occurs immediately before the focused constituent. Similarly, when the status of *yati* was revisited in section 9, it was observed that in cases of relativization, *ni* appears to close off the relative clause (cf. (35a-b)). This state of affairs seems to be confirmed in the following example in which the subject position is relativized:

- (37) wir dahalay yati— á sleká ni á srá zlama
 child female rel. 3sg go def. 3sg know thing
 “The girl who is leaving is intelligent”

The same facts obtain when the object position is relativized:

- (38) a. zum yati Lawan á wáy— Ni á nduzá
 Wine rel. Lawan 3sg likes def. 3sg spoil
 “The wine that Lawan likes is spoiled”

- b. ďaf yati nday té dí— Ni é zí
 couscous rel. they 3pl cook def. 3sg smell
 “The couscous that they cook is smelling”

- c. zlama yati leli má gráy ---- ni á gdavá
 thing rel. we 1pl do def. 3sg spoil
 “The thing that we do is spoiled”

In the above examples, gaps represent extraction sites, i.e. sites from which the relativized constituents were presumably extracted. It can be observed as well that *ni* usually occurs at the end of the relative clause. Recall that Bebey (2010), after Smith (2003), argues that *ni* is a mark of definiteness. This claim, descriptively, is not very far from the truth since any constituent that is either focused or relativized is usually definite. But the most interesting theoretically cartographic

(39) a. Input

b. zum yati Lawan á wáy —ni...
 wine rel. Lawan 3sg likes def.
 “The wine that Lawan likes...”

(40a) [AgrP [Spec Lawan [Agr á [VP wáy [NP zum]]]]]
 Lawan 3sg likes wine

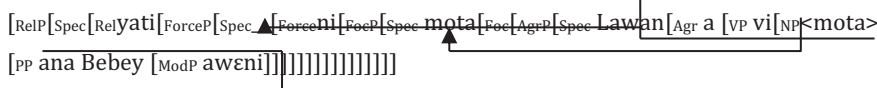
Diagram illustrating the structure of a sentence in a language with a rich set of grammatical markers. The sentence is represented as a sequence of markers: [DP[NP[Spec[NZum[RelP[SpecOP[Relyati[ForceP[Spec_Forcehi[AgrP[SpecLawan[AgrPa[VPway[NP<Zum].

The diagram shows the hierarchical structure of the sentence, with arrows indicating the relationships between the markers. The markers are grouped into several categories: DP, NP, Spec, NZum, RelP, SpecOP, Relyati, ForceP, Spec_Forcehi, AgrP, SpecLawan, AgrPa, VPway, and NP<Zum. The diagram illustrates the complex grammatical structure of the sentence, showing how the markers are nested and related to each other.

Recall that in cleft constructions, *ni* also closes off the extraction domain, that is it occurs in the clause-final position

(7b) yati Lawan á ví— ana Bebey aweni ni mota
 Rel Lawan 3sg give to Bebey yesterday def. car
 “It is a car that Lawan gave to Bebey yesterday”

(41)



In the above tree representation, *ni* is base-generated in the Force^o position. The focused NP *mota* “car” merges into the Spec, FocP, subsequently followed by remnant movement of AgrP into Spec, ForceP in order to satisfy the EPP requirement. These two raising operations, preceded by the base-generation of *ni* in Force^o, derive a word order in which *ni* immediately precedes and dominates the focalized NP *mota* “car” (cf. (7b) above).

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VII. Conclusion

It has been argued in this paper that apparently rightward movement in Muyang can only be well accounted for by adopting Kayne's (1994, 2011) anti-symmetry framework. There is no rightward movement in Muyang at all; all movement operations take place on the left edge of the clause. This paper provides therefore *prima facie* evidence that the anti-symmetry approach advocated by Kayne (1994, 2011) is right in positing that movement accounts, for the most part, for word order variations.

Focalization in clause final position is a result of the pied-piping of IP into the higher Spec, ForceP position. Similarly, in yes/no questions, and in conformity with Rizzi's (2001b) theory of phrase structure, it is shown that in order to satisfy the EPP requirement, AgrP is pied-piped into Spec, IntP thereby satisfying Chomsky's (1993) Extension Condition which requires mandatory movement into the specifier position of a merged head.

Remnant movements and phase theory are of significant importance. The Muyang empirical material offers insightful results as far as remnant movement and phase theory are concerned. In some complex constructions such as focalization and Wh-questions, not only does the focalized constituent raise to Spec, FocP to satisfy the focus criterion, but also there is pied-piping of the overall remnant AgrP into Spec, ForceP. These two movements are *prima facie* evidence that IP (AgrP) is not opaque to any syntactic movement and therefore FocP which directly precedes AgrP is not a phase. Force Phrase, on the contrary, is a phase since FocP, which is the complement of the phase head i.e. Force⁰, does not license any extraction.

Rizzi's (2001b) split-CP approach has also been enriched by Muyang data as it is shown that there is a maximal projection above ForceP, the head of which is occupied by a relativizer, and the specifier of which is occupied by a null operator. The postulation of a Relative Phrase (RelP), first proposed by Biloa (in progress), is supported by data from Tuki. In Tuki, as it is

the case in Muyang relative clauses, RelP directly dominates ForceP. In such contexts the movement of the relativized NP into the highest DP is subsequently followed by the pied-piping of the remnant AgrP into Spec-Force, thereby accounting for the attested word order.

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The Morpheme *gäna* in Amharic

Delombera Negga, Institut national des langues et civilisations orientales (INALCO) - Paris

1. Introduction*

The morpheme *gäna* is traditionally considered to be an adverb; sometimes explicitly regarded as a temporal adverbⁱ. It does share features with temporal adverbs, for instance, it occupies the same position and is invariable. It also combines with some of them. However, whereas temporal adverbs locate a process in relation to time, *gäna* modifies the process. It implies that the moment of the process is assessed in relation to another moment. In other words, this morpheme establishes not only a relation between the moment of utterance and the process but it also indicates the utterer's point of view regarding the state of achievement of the process.

The contextual value of *gäna* varies depending on, firstly, the aspect of the predicate (perfective/imperfective); the modality (affirmative/negative), in which case *gäna* translates as *still* or *not yet*; secondly, it depends on its combination with specific temporal adverbs translating as *just now* or *only now*; thirdly, it depends on its suffixation to the conjunction *ändä*-equivalent to "like, as". In this case, *ändä-gäna* implies a repetition or the renewal of a process and translates as *again*; *once more*.

The aim of this paper is to analyse the invariant property of *gäna* utilizing the TOPE (*Théorie des Opérations Prédicatives et Enonciatives*ⁱⁱ) theoretical approach developed by Culioli (1990). We will first show how *gäna* functions as an adverb when used with a temporal location. We will then consider cases where *gäna* functions as a predicate and finally as a nominal.

2. Gäna as an adverb

As an adverb, *gäna* precedes the term or group of terms it modifies and in some cases, it enables one to emphasize the term it follows. Although it is generally admitted that it expresses the non-accomplishmentⁱⁱⁱ of a process either because the latter has not started or has not terminated, its interpretation is context-dependent.

In this section, we show with an affirmative predicate that *gäna* is compatible with the imperfective aspect but not with the perfective. It can however combine with the perfective aspect if the predicate is in the negative form.

2.1. Gäna modifies a temporal location

First, we examine the use of *gäna* with a temporal location. Let us consider the following examples:

- (1) Dästanna Täsfu yätägabbut, **gäna** bäləğənnätaččāw nāw.

Dästa-nna Täsfu yä-tä-gabb-u-t,

Desta-and Tesfu REL^{iv}PASS-RECIP.PERF-marry-3PL-PRON.OBJ.3M.S.

gäna bäləğənnät-aččāw nā-w.

gäna LOC-childhood-POSS.3PL. PERF.be-3M.S.

Desta and Tesfu that they got married, **still** in their childhood it is.

In (1), the particle *bä-* indicates that the process of getting married is located relative to a time-space locator, more precisely **within** the time-space introduced by <childhood>. The morpheme *gäna* indicates that the process remains within the limits of this time-space, and this is because the right hand boundary has not been crossed. Depending on the situation, this basic value can be associated with subjective values emphasizing one aspect of this event or the other, with a semantic effect that can be phrased as follows: “they got married **a long time ago**” or “it was **back in their childhood**, that they got married” or “they were **not adults**, when they got married”. In this case, the utterer opposes childhood and

adulthood, or childhood and an expected age to be married. The correct translation for this example is:

*It was **still** in their childhood that Desta and Tesfu got married.*

or

*When they got married, Desta and Tesfu were **still** children.*

Example (2) is part of a narrative:

- (2) **Gäna** bä1938 a.m., astämariw ändämotu, əssu, mämhər tābalä.
kəzzia, ...

gäna bä-1938 a.m., astämari-w ändä-mot-u,

gäna LOC-1938 AD, teacher-POSS.3M.S CONJ-PERF.die-3PL^v,

əssu, mämhər tā-balä. kə-zzia, ...

him, teacher PASS-PERF.say.3M.S LOC.-DEM; ...

Still in 1938, his teacher as he died, he, teacher he was named.

From that on, ...

It is clearly indicated in this example that the process of < him becoming a teacher > takes place in 1938. The particle *bä-* locates the event in the indicated temporal space on the one hand, while on the other hand *gäna* implies that the event remains within this space. In other words, *gäna* implies that the moment of the event is situated within the year < 1938 > and **not beyond** this limit; not after.

This example can be interpreted as follows:

*He became a teacher **as far back as** 1938 when his teacher died. Then, ...*

Here again, depending on the situation, this example can be interpreted as “it has been **quite a long time** since he became a teacher” or “he became a teacher **early** in his life” and the correct translation is:

***Back in** 1938, when his teacher died, he became a teacher. Then, ...*

***Already** in 1938, when ...*

***As early as** 1938, when ...*

These examples show that, when *gäna* is used with a temporal location, it indicates that the process or event is within the limits of the given time-space.

2.2. Gäna and verbal aspects

As already mentioned, the value *gäna* takes depends on the aspect and modality of the predicate.

Let us consider (3) below:

(3) **Gäna** məsawən yəbälal.

gäna məsa-w-ən yə-bäla-al.

gäna lunch-POSS-ACCUS. IMPERF-eat-AUX.PRS.exist.3M.S.

still his lunch he eats/is to eat.

Due to the imperfective aspect, combined with an auxiliary in the present tense, the predicate *yə-bäla-al* can be interpreted in three ways: out of context, it could be regarded as something taking place at the time of utterance, that is “now he is eating”; with any adverb indicating a moment to come like “tomorrow”, it will be interpreted as a future tense “he will eat”; with other indications like “usually”, it takes a generic reading “he eats”. So, whatever the moment, *gäna* indicates that the event in question is always valid. In other words, if the moment of the event coincides with the moment of utterance, the process of “eating” is **in progress** and example (3) is interpreted as: “He is **still** eating lunch”. In this case, *gäna* implies that “he **continues** eating” or “he has **not finished eating**”. If the moment of the event is different from the moment of utterance, the process of “eating” is envisaged in the future and *gäna* implies that the process is **yet to come** meaning “he **is yet to eat before** (going to the market). Example (3) can therefore be translated as:

*He is **still** eating/having his lunch.*

or

*He is **yet to eat**/have his lunch.*

If we compare the imperfective and the perfective aspect, we notice that the perfective is **not** compatible with *gäna* in affirmative sentences. This is illustrated in (4):

(4) * **gäna** məsawən bälla.

gäna məsa-w-ən bälla.

still lunch-POSS-ACCUS PERF.eat.3M.S.

The same sentence becomes well-formed in the negative.
(See (5) below)

2.3. Gäna and the negation

This section focuses on *gäna* and the perfective negative.
Let us consider (5):

(5) **Gäna** məsawən albällam.

gäna	məsa-w-ən	al-bälla-m.
still	Lunch-POSS-ACCUS	NEG-PERF.eat.3M.S-NEG ^{vi} .
still	his lunch	he has not eaten

This example could be a reply to someone saying: “Send Tesfu to the market”. And it can be interpreted in any of the three ways:

1. I can't send him now, he must **have lunch first**
2. He won't go **before he has had lunch**
3. He'll go later on, **after his lunch**.

All three interpretations imply the following: “**but for the moment he has not eaten yet**”. And, in any case, “having eaten” is a precondition to “sending Tesfu to the market”.

The question, then, is: why is it possible to combine *gäna* with the perfective negative?

We must first observe that the negative form *al-bälla-m* “he not having eaten” is that of **both** the resultative (compound gerund^{vii} in present tense *bält-o-al* “having-eaten-he-is”) **and** the perfective (*bälla*, he ate). By definition, the resultative indicates a state resulting from the accomplishment of a process. If the accomplishment of the process is negated, the result also is negated. So, in Amharic only one form of negation is used for both the perfective and the resultative.

Secondly, as previously seen, *gäna* indicates that, relative to a point of reference as introduced by “childhood”, “1938”, “now”, a given situation (process or event) is **still valid**. So, in (5), with the negative predicate, *al-bälla-m* “he not having eaten”, the accomplishment of the process “to eat” is negated, and *gäna* implies that the **non-accomplishment** of the process

is **still the case** or, in other words, the process **continues not to be accomplished**.

The imperfective refers to a process that is not accomplished, that is to say that it has not reached the end point. On the contrary, the perfective refers to a process that is accomplished, and to negate the perfective is to negate an accomplished process, and the result of this negation is something that is a **non-perfective** process which boils down to a positive imperfective. Hence, the compatibility of *gäna* with the perfective negative.

Consequently, the process “to be sent to the market” is only possible when the predicative relation < **he - not having eaten** > is over, but for the time being, he, that is Tesfu, **is yet to** eat. Hence the translation of example (5):

*He has **not** eaten/had his lunch **yet**.*

In (6),

(6) Səra käyazä **gäna** amät alhonäwəm.

səra kä-yazä **gäna** amät

job LOC-PERF.hold.3M.S. **gäna** year

al-honä-w-əm.

NEG-PERF.be.3M.S-PRN.OBJ.3M.S-NEG.

Job since he has got **still** a year it has not become

The negative predicate, *al-honä-w-əm*, “it has not become [a year] for him”, negates the completion of *amät* “a year”. The sequence *səra kä-yazä* “since he got a job” is the starting point or the left boundary for calculating the temporal distance relative to the moment of utterance “now”. If (L) is the left boundary and (T) the moment of utterance, then it is possible to say that “between (L) and (T), a year has **still not** become”, meaning a year is **not yet** completed. The right boundary (R) is not closed, not crossed.

Example (6) can then be phrased as:

1. “it is **less than a year** since he got a job” or
2. “he got a job **only recently**”,

and it can be translated as follows:

*It has **not** been a year **yet** since he got a job.*

(7) is similar to (6):

(7) Balabbatu, **gāna**, bāhayləm yəhun bäsālam,
altägäzzallaččāwəm.

balabbat-u^{viii}, **gāna**, bā-hayl-əm yə-hun

dignitary-DEF.ART, **gāna**, LOC-force-also JUSS-be.3M.S

bä-sālam, al-tä-gäzza-ll-aččāw-əm.

LOC-peace, NEG-PASS-PERF.submit-LOC-PRN.OBJ.3PL^{ix}-NEG.

The dignitaries, **still**, by force it is by peace, they are not submitted to him.

Unlike (6) however, there's no starting point or left boundary (L) indicated. But if we consider that the point of reference is the moment of utterance, i.e. "now", and if we combine it with that of the resulting state of the negative predicate, *al-tä-gäzza-ll-aččāw-əm*, "he-is-not-submitted-to-them" which can also be rendered by "now", then "the dignitaries are **still not** submitted". Hence the translation:

*Either by force or peacefully, the dignitaries are **not** submitted to him **yet**.*

In other words, the dignitaries **continue to resist**. So, when *gāna* is used with the perfective negative, it implies that the process continues not to be accomplished. The right boundary (R) is not closed, not crossed.

3. *Gāna* as a predicate

As a predicate, *gāna* is used with the copula *nä*- "to be" giving the expression *gāna nä-ñ^x*, which is always understood as a negative answer to a question, whether the question is positive like in (8) or negative like in (10). The question:

(8) bälla-š?

PERF.eat-3F.S?

Have you eaten?

can receive different answers:

(8a) awo, bälla-hu

Yes, PERF.eat-1S.

Yes, I have eaten.

(8b) al-bälla-hu-m.

NEG-PERF.eat-1S-NEG.

I have not eaten.

(8c) al-bälla-hu-m, bä-hwala ə-bäla-allä-hu.

NEG-PERF.eat-1S-NEG, LOC-back IMPERF.eat-AUX.PRS.exist-1S.

I have not eaten, I will eat later.

But also, when it is unnecessary to repeat part of the question, one can answer by just saying:

(9) **Gäna** nä-ñ^{xi}. (= **Gäna** albällahum.)

gäna nä-ñ (= **gäna** al-bälla-hu-m.)

gäna PERF.be-PRN.OBJ.1S. (= **gäna** NEG-PERF.eat-1S-NEG.)

still I am. (= **still** I have not eaten.)

Which can be phrased as “I am **still** in **not having eaten**” and signifies: “I have **still not** eaten”.

(10) Sərahən alčärräskəm?

səra-h-ən al-čärräs-k-əm?

work-POSS.2M.S-ACCUS NEG-PERF.finish-2M.S-NEG?

your work you have not finished?

Have you not finished your work?

The answer to (10) will be the same as in (9) above:

(9') **Gäna** näñ. (= **Gäna** alčärräskum.)

gäna nä-ñ. (= **Gäna** al-čärräs-ku-m.)

gäna PERF.be-PRN.OBJ.1S. (= **gäna** NEG-PERF.end-1S-NEG.)

still I am. (= **still** I have not finished.)

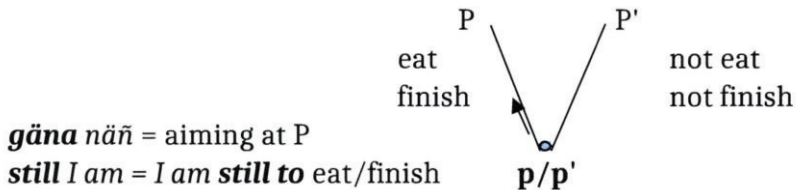
This answer (9') can be phrased as: “I am **still** in **not having finished**”. And it can be interpreted as: “I have **still not** finished”.

So, whatever the predicate (to eat, to finish) in the question, the answer is always given with the predicate “to be” preceded

by *gäna*. And whatever the question, positive or negative, the answer is always positive *gäna nä-ñ*, **still I am**. Moreover, this positive answer always refers to a negative situation in the sense that the process is **not accomplished**, as shown in (9) and (9') in brackets as the equivalent of *gäna nä-ñ* (**Gäna** al-bälla-hu-m, **still I have not eaten**, and **Gäna** al-čärräs-ku-m, **still I have not finished**).

How do we account for this?

First of all, any question implies two possible answers, represented here with branches: P' represents the negative branch (not eat, not finish) and P the positive branch (eat, finish). Whatever the question, the answer *gäna näñ*, **still I am** (represented here by the arrow ↑) shows the position of the utterer relative to the accomplishment of the process:



If the question is positive as in example (8), that is “Have you eaten?” the answer is also positive, *gäna näñ*, **still I am**, signifying **I am still to eat**.

(11) * **gäna** aydällä-hu-m.

gäna NEG.IMPERF.be-1S-NEG.

is impossible.

If the question is negative, which is “Have you **not** finished?” the answer is again positive, *gäna näñ*, **still I am**, meaning the same **I am still to finish**. So that, in both cases, the positive answer implies that the utterer is aiming at P that is <to eat> or <to finish> on the positive branch, but is not yet in the positive process. This explains why we have as equivalent to *gäna näñ*, **still I am**, = **Gäna** al-bälla-hu-m, **still I have not eaten**, or **Gäna** al-čärräs-ku-m, **still I have not finished**.

Examples (9) and (9') can be translated as:

I am still to. (= I have **still not** eaten.)

I am still to. (= I have **still not** finished.)

4. Nominalisation of gāna: Interpretation of yā-gāna

As a noun^{xii}, *gāna* can combine with *yā-* to form *yā-gāna*. The element *yā-gāna* acts as a determiner like in the following example:

(12) **Yāgānaw** baləš

yā-gāna-w	bal-əš ^{xiii} .
LOC- gāna -DEF.ART	husband-POSS.2F.S.
of-still -the	husband-of-you

*Your **future** husband*

The question is: is it possible to explain this use of *gāna* in (11) in relation to the value “still”, or do we consider it to be a different unit, a noun meaning “future” as it is here? If we consider the analysis made so far, we can say that it is also valid in this case. And, *gāna*, *still*, in **of-still-the husband-of-you**, has to be interpreted not in the sense of “a husband that is and remains the husband”, but rather as *gāna nāñ, I am still-to*, in the sense of *still-to come* or *still-to be*. Then, this example can be phrased as:

*Your husband **of-the-still-to-be**.*

This construction is similar to (12) and (13) below:

(13) **Yāzarew** baləš

yā-zare-w	bal-əš
LOC- today -DEF.ART	husband-POSS.2F.S.
of-today -the	husband-of-you

*Your husband **of-the-today**. = Your actual husband.*

or

(14) **Yahunu** baləš

yā-ahun-u	bal-əš
LOC- now -DEF.ART	husband-POSS.2F.S.
of-now -the	husband-of-you

*Your husband **of-the-now**. = Your husband of the day.*

5. Conclusion

We have seen that, when used with a temporal location, the morpheme *gāna* indicates that a process or event remains within the limits of the given time-space without reaching the right hand limit. This value of *gāna* is congruent with that of the imperfective as the latter refers to a process that is not accomplished, either because the moment of the event coincides with the moment of utterance in which case the process is in progress, or because the moment of the event is different from the moment of utterance and the process is envisaged in the future. In both cases, the end point is not reached or the right hand boundary is not closed, and again *gāna* explicitly indicates that the process is still unaccomplished or still to be accomplished.

Consequently, the value of *gāna* is not congruent with that of the perfective positive as the latter refers to a process that is accomplished and where only the closure of the right hand boundary is taken into account but neither what precedes it or what results of it. It is also incompatible with the resultative that implies first the perfective in order to refer to a state resulting from the accomplishment of a process once the right hand boundary is closed or crossed. However, *gāna* is compatible with a negative perfective predicate since being non perfective it corresponds to an imperfective value. It is also compatible with a negative resultative value which implies the absence of a perfective and therefore corresponds again to the imperfective value.

As mentioned, *gāna* reflects also the point of view of the utterer regarding his aiming at in the course of a process.

Considering the various cases examined, and despite its different interpretations, *gāna* has an invariant property which can be phrased as “**still to ...**” This applies also to the expression mentioned in the introduction of this paper: *andä-gāna* “again; once more” implying a repetition or the renewal of a process. Briefly and without considering any particular context, *andä-* “like” introduces a comparison in relation to a process and *gāna* indicates that, whatever the first process, the one compared to it resembles this first occurrence. Thus, the

second occurrence of the process remains notionally the same as the first one. In other words, the process does not change, and what counts is that it repeats itself as a new process because it has not reached the envisaged end point or result, and so *əndä-gäna*^{xiv} can be phrased as “like-still to ...” Another expression to mention is *gäna lä-gäna*. The repetition of *gäna* marks an insistence on what is envisaged, thus conveying anticipation. And, according to whether what is envisaged is positive, negative or neutral, *gäna lä-gäna* “still to ... to-still to ...” can be interpreted as “in the hope of”, “for fear of” or “in view of”.

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i *I am grateful to Prof. Sû-tôôg-nooma Kukka Kabore and Prof. Sylvester Osu for their interest in my work and their helpful comments.

i Cohen (1970), p. 325. In Getahun (1995), *gāna* is not included among time adverbs. In Leslau (1995), it is listed among primary adverbs, “not derived from a verbal or a nominal form”, p. 843.

ii See Culioli, A. (1990), (1995), (1999a, 1999b).

iii According to Cohen (1970), *gāna* indicates a not accomplished process, envisaged either at its beginning or just before its beginning: “Il faut citer un mot important : *gāna*, qui indique un procès non achevé, envisagé soit à son début, soit à un moment proche de celui où il va débiter.” p. 325.

iv	ACCUS	accusative	M	masculine
	ANA	anaphoric	NEG	negative
	ART	article	OBJ	object
	AUX	auxiliary	PASS	passive
	CAUS	causative	PERF	perfective (aspect)
	CONJ	conjunction	PL	plural
	DEF	definite	POSS	possessive
	DEM	demonstrative	PRON	pronoun
	DET	determinant	PRS	present
	F	feminine	RECIP	reciprocal
	IMPERF	imperfective (aspect)	REFL	reflexive
	JUSS	jussive	REL	relative
	LOC	locative	S	singular

v Polite plural.

vi “al-...-m”: a discontinuous morpheme.

vii A combination of the gerund with the auxiliary verb *allä* (to exist) conjugated either in the present or the past.

viii A collective singular.

ix Polite plural for “he/him” or “she/her”.

x Here we have the 1st person singular but it can be any of the object pronouns.

xi See also Dawkins, C.H. (1960), p. 21.

xii Cohen (1970), p. 325, notes that temporal adverbs are often used as nouns: “Les adverbes de temps sont souvent employés comme des noms”.

xiii Example taken from Cohen (1970, p. 325).

xiv See also Cohen, M. (1939), p. 331.

Negation in Yukuben (Jukunoid, Benue-Congo)

*Rose-Juliet Anyanwu, Goethe-Universität,
Frankfurt/Main*

Introduction

The present contribution describes Negation in Yukuben. It covers the following points:

1. Aims and objectives,
1. History and background,
2. Origin and definition,
3. Ethno-geo-linguistic description of Yukuben,
4. Source of data,
5. Method of presentation,
6. Scope of negation,
7. An overview of the negative markers, ways of expressing negation in Yukuben (which include lexical, morphological, and analytical negation),
8. A survey of typological work (including the examination of Yukuben's sister dialect Bá-lísà and other related as well as neighbouring languages and beyond),
9. Comparing and contrasting negation in Jukunoid,
10. Negation in relation to question markers,
11. Tracing the probable source of the negative particle *kɔ̃ŋ*,
12. Summary and conclusion,
13. Findings and observations, and issues for further investigation.

A list of symbols and abbreviations is found just before information on references, which is located at the rear end of the text.

Aims and objectives

The aims and objectives of this paper include the following:

1. To explore the various characteristics and patterns of negation marking in Yukuben, thereby highlighting the fact that while one particular Yukuben dialect basically uses, *inter alia*, a presumably cognitive semantic device in form of a sentence-final particle *kɔŋ*, derived probably from the lexeme *kó-hũŋ* “falsehood/false (not true)”, another dialect Bá-lísà uses an adverb *ké-nāŋ* “very well” to change the meaning of a given expression from positive to negative
2. To close part of the gap left in the discussion on negation in West African languages, as presented in (Cyffer et al. 2009)
3. To find out whether and how far negation patterns can uncover other patterns of language structure; for instance, whether the structure of negatives can reveal any discernible (hidden) insights in affirmatives
4. To ascertain the place of Yukuben also in relation to typological work on negation in general, especially in terms of “genetic” (if any), areal and universal features.

The presentation is divided into 6 sections, which explains, *inter alia*, the method of presentation.

Section 2 is a brief summarised general overview of negation strategies.

Section 3 constitutes the body of the discussion on negation in Yukuben. It starts with distinguishing the scope types, followed by a digression on “standard” negation, which handles the negation of declarative clauses in the framework of ‘secondary’ modifications and “primary” devices.

Section 4 is on typological work. It surveys various aspects of typological work on negation. This section is divided into three parts. The first part shows and discusses some examples of negation in Bá-lísà-Yukuben. The second part presents two tables summarising the basic negators and “reinforcers” in the two Yukuben dialects Bā-lāābèn and Bá-lísà. Part 3 outlines and examines briefly, negation in Yukuben’s closely related (sister) languages, while the last part, 4, surveys negation in Plateau languages, neighbouring Chadic languages, as well as far-away

Atlantic languages, by using Kagoro, Hausa, and Kisi, respectively.

Section 5 handles negation in relation to question markers, while section 6 seeks to trace the origin of the negative particle *kōh* by arguing that it might have derived from the lexeme *kó-hōh* “false/falsehood”.

History and background

Negation is, with certainty, a universal category. All human languages have peculiar means of distinguishing between positive and negative sentences. The subject of negation tends to have a natural appeal for scholars from different fields, for instance linguists as well as philosophers, ranging from Aristotle (who referred to “negation” in his essay *De Interpretatione*, as “apophasis” ([ə'pɒfəsis]) < Greek: */apophanai/ “to say no”), (Frege 1919, 1952) through Geach (1965) to Atlas (1980).

Linguistic contributions on negation (especially from a typological viewpoint) include those of, for instance (Croft 1991), (Dahl 1979), (Dryer 2009), (Van Gelderen 2008, 2010), (Horn 1989), (Miestamo 2005, 2007), (Payne 1985, 1997), as well as (Cyffer and collaborators 2009).

Origin and definition (from interdisciplinary viewpoint)

Negation has its origin in Latin (*negare* ≈ “deny”). Generally, negation can mean denial, counter-assertion; objection, refusal, rejection, dismissal, disclaim, challenge; abolition, annulment, dissolution, revocation, nullification, and cancellation. Hence, we can deny or counter-assert, for example statements or assertions. We can reject or object to moral values. From a logical point of view, negation can be considered a function that reverses the truth-value of the expression to which it is applied. Lastly, we can abolish or revoke such things as conventions.

The rest of the presentation will henceforth be dedicated to negation from a linguistic viewpoint. Negation as a linguistic category has been defined formally in various ways.

(Lyons 1977:143) puts it as follows: ‘... the negation of a true proposition results in a false proposition; and conversely, the negation of a false proposition results in a true proposition’. Put differently, negation can be seen as a denial of a positive proposition, or a predication that a proposition is untrue.

(Crystal 1991:231) defines negation as ‘A process of construction in grammatical and semantic analyses which typically expresses the contradiction of some or all of a sentence’s meaning’.

According to (Payne 1997:282), ‘A negative clause is one which asserts that some event, situation, or state of affairs does *not* hold. Negative clauses usually occur in the context of some presupposition. For example, if I say *Jorge didn’t clean up the kitchen*, I probably assume the addressee presupposes that *Jorge did*, or *should have cleaned up the kitchen*.’

All these will be summarised in what (Mietsamo 2007) describes as “basic” definition of negation: ‘In a simple propositional logic, negation is an operator that reverses the truth value of a proposition. Thus, when *p* is true, not-*p* is false and *vice versa*’.

Ethno-geo-linguistic description of Yukuben

Yukuben is a Benue-Congo language, classified officially by Lewis et al. (2016) as belonging to the Jukunoid group of languages. It is an SVO word order nominal class system language with a deficient concordial system. Yukuben speakers dwell in Taraba State of Nigeria, near the Cameroonian border. Other languages in this region include Kuteb, Fikyu, Kapyra, and the Jukun of Takum. Yukuben has several “dialects” which are relatively mutually intelligible. Following (Romaine 2000:3), there arises the temptation to use the term “variety” or “lect” instead, as practised by many linguists nowadays, to avoid the sometimes pejorative connotations associated with the term “dialect”. Especially for technical reasons, however, the latter will be retained and used here further.

Bá-lísà and Bā-lāābèn constitute the two major dialects, whereby the latter comprises the largest group with its several

other variants, e.g. B55-dũṇázù, Bé-líbī, Bō-lūkù, Bō-lūzù, Bō-lūtù, and Bé-lījī. Bá-lísà and Bā-lāābèn lie quite apart from each other geographically. This also may partly explain, as (Romaine 2000:3) rightly points out, why they tend to differ from one another. Although both language dialects obviously share most linguistic features in common, mutual intelligibility seems to be a one-way concept. In other words, while the Bā-lāābèn speakers claim they do understand the Bá-lísà speakers very well, the latter claim they do not always understand the former. (See Anyanwu 2013:38ff.) Anyway, as (Ellis 1999) puts it, ‘... The extent of dialect differences is a continuum. Some dialects are extremely different and others less so.’

The pattern of negation marking in the dialects is almost similar, the major difference being the fact that the clause-final negative marker differs in content in both dialects: it is the adverb *ké-nāṇ* “very well” in Bá-lísà-Yukuben, and the particle *kōṇ* (suspected to be, as already indicated, a grammaticalised form of *kó-hūṇ* “false/falsehood”) in Bā-lāābèn-Yukuben.

Source of data

All Yukuben data stem from personal knowledge, acquired especially from the present author’s long-standing field trips.

Method of presentation

A distinction will be made between the negation of declarative verbal main clauses and other types of clausal negation, such as the negation of imperatives, based especially on what we know from typological studies as standard negation vs. non-standard negation (see sub-sections 3.5 and 3.9, respectively).

Examples will constitute both positive and negative counterparts in the various construction types. Most of the examples will be drawn from the Bā-lāābèn-Yukuben group, with occasional reference to the Bá-lísà-Yukuben, as the case may be. Furthermore, there will be cross-references vis-à-vis other studies on negation, thereby integrating the typological perspectives.

The scope of negation, which includes clausal negation and constituent negation, will be presented first, followed by the various ways of expressing negation in Yukuben, in terms of standard vs. non-standard negation.

II. Section two

A summarised overview of general negation strategies

Since one of the major aims of this paper is to contribute to typological work on negation, negation in Yukuben will, therefore, be considered from two major perspectives: 1) scope of negation and 2) standard vs. non-standard negation. Scope of negation distinguishes between clausal/predicate negation and constituent negation.

Following (Miestamo 2005:1), the term “standard negation” refers to the basic way(s) a language has for negating declarative verbal main clauses. Accordingly, “non-standard” negation strategies in the world’s languages (Miestamo 2007:561) involve environments other than verbal declarative clauses. Examples of such non-standard negation strategies include existential, imperative (including injunctive or prohibitive), locative, possessive, subordinate clauses, and non-verbal constructions, such as clauses with nominal and adjectival predicates.

Another classification of negation according to (Miestamo 2005) proposes the division of negative structures into “symmetric” and “asymmetric”, based on the structural distinctions between positive and negative constructions. Structures are referred to as symmetric when positive constructions do not differ from their negative counterparts ‘in any way other than by the presence of the negative marker’ (Miestamo 2007:556) while in asymmetric constructions further differences or asymmetries are recorded.

Besides, Miestamo proposes to distinguish between “constructional” asymmetry and “paradigmatic” asymmetry. Whereas the former type entails a replacement of the marker of a category in question by a different marker or its loss, the latter entails the loss of grammatical distinctions across a

paradigm when a category is neutralised, such as a category of TAM, person, number, gender, evidentiality, voice).

III. Section three

Types of negation

From a typological point of view (cf., for instance, (Payne 1997:282ff.) and Watters (2000:205ff.)), “scope” of negation may be of two different kinds:

1. clausal negation and
2. constituent negation

In clausal/predicate negation, the sentence as a whole or an entire proposition may be negated, e.g. “she didn’t do it.”

Constituent negation, on the other hand, involves the negation of parts of a clause, e.g. “He has no car”, whereby it is “car” that is negated here.

Comparing and contrasting clausal and constituent negation

Cross-linguistic studies show that the most common strategies in any language are those used to negate an entire proposition (cf. Payne (op. cit: 282). This entails in essence that although the semantic effect of constituent negation can be very similar or identical to that of clausal negation; constituent negation is always less common as a grammatical device than clausal negation.

In Yukuben, like in many other African languages, constituent negation is often marked by cleft-like constructions, typically of the type:

expletive pronoun + copula > “It was not X who/that did it, it was Y.”

Negation in Yukuben

Negation marking in Yukuben comprises two outstanding strategies:

1. A clause-final negative marker *ké-nāη* or *kōη* (dependent on dialect; cf. section 3)
2. The presence of a verbal prefix.

Depending probably on the semantic role of a particular verb as well as that of a particular patient argument, the

affirmative counterparts of the negative sentences may or may not have a verbal prefix.

In the affirmative, the verbal prefix:

1. May be present in some sentence types with non-cognate objects, such as those described as prototypical patients by (Payne 1997: 51), as in (2), below, and

2. Is constantly absent in sentences involving a “dummy” or rather cognate object, as in (1), below.

Consequently, *ísí* “walking” in (1) is a “dummy”/cognate object, and *kè-tégbān* “basket” in (2) can be described as a prototypical patient. Compare the following examples:

A. Absence of the verbal prefix in the affirmative

(1a) Positive

<i>Èmí</i>	<i>rì</i>	<i>sí</i>	<i>ísí.</i>
3sg	IMPERFV	walk	walk(ing)

‘s/he is walking.’ [Lit.: ‘s/he is walking walk.’]

(b) Negative

<i>Èmí</i>	<i>rí</i>	<i>è-sì</i>	<i>ísí</i>	<i>kɔ̃ŋ.</i>
3sg	IMPERFV	SM-walk	walk(ing)	NEG

“s/he is not walking.” [Lit.: “s/he is walking walk not.”]

The example above shows that in negation, the tone pattern of the verb changes immediately the verbal prefix is attached to it.

The following example contains a prototypical patient (*kè-tégbān* “basket”). According to Payne’s definition, such a prototypical patient undergoes a physical visible change in state.

B. Presence of the verbal prefix in the affirmative

(2a) Positive

<i>Èmí</i>	<i>rì</i>	<i>à-ⁿjú</i>	<i>kè-tégbān.</i>
3sg	IMPERFV	SM-weave	cl-basket

“s/he is making a basket.”

(b) Negative

<i>Èmí</i>	<i>rí</i>	<i>á-ⁿjù</i>	<i>kè-tégbān</i>	<i>kɔ̃ŋ.</i>
3sg	IMPERFV	SM-weave	cl-basket	NEG

“s/he is not making a basket.”

As can be seen in this example, it is *kè-tégbān* “basket” that is undergoing such a change, in contrast to *ísí* “walking” in (1), which does not undergo such a change. What this implies therefore is that entities, such as “dummy” or “cognate” objects cannot be described as prototypical patients.

The following sub-sections discuss scope of negation, on the one hand, and standard vs. non-standard negation in Yukuben, on the other hand.

C. Scope of negation

In Yukuben, clausal negation tends to be more common than constituent negation.

D. Clausal/predicate negation

Clausal/predicate negation involves the negation of an entire presupposition (cf. (2), above). Its operation can be described as morphosyntactic.

E. Constituent negation

From a typological point of view, as already explained, one way of marking constituent negation may be object- or subject-focus through a cleft-sentence. Hence, compare the following example:

(a) Subject-Focus through a Cleft-Sentence

(3) <i>È-hí</i>	[↑] <i>ì-bú</i>	<i>nām</i>	<i>è-nìm</i>	<i>kōŋ</i> ;
EP-COP	cl-dog	1sg.POSS	ANAPH.REF-bark	NEG;
<i>é-hí</i>	[↑] <i>à-mí</i>	<i>ᵐbé</i> .		
EP-COP.PAST	REL-CONC	there		

“It was not my dog that barked; it was another one.” [Lit.: “It was dog mine, it barked not; it was that one there.”]

(Where “[↑]” stands for “upstep” or L-tone raising)

As explained in (Anyanwu 2009:17), the argument focus in question is the subject NP, in this case, *ì-bú nām* “my dog” in the first clause.

Another way of marking “constituent negation” may involve the negation of a particular constituent of the sentence, such as the noun phrase (subject or object). One way to do this may be the application of contrastive focus.

(b) Contrastive Focus

(4) <i>Íyèè,</i>	<i>bé-lām</i>	<i>nī</i>	<i>è-ré</i>
no,	cl-child.pl	DEICT	ANAPH.REF-IMPERFV
<i>á-^ŋmgbá</i>	<i>bé-zíí</i>	<i>kɔŋ;</i>	<i>bā</i>
SM-drink	cl-beer	NEG;	3pl
<i>rá</i>	<i>á-^ŋmgbá</i>	<i>ù-bón.</i>	
IMPERFV	SM-drink	cl-porridge	
“No, the children do not drink beer; they drink porridge.”			
Here, “porridge” is shown to contrast with “beer”.			

F. Standard negation

From the point of view of typology, there are various ways of expressing standard negation in Yukuben. Following (Payne 1997), for instance, all these can be described and classified in terms of “primary” devices: lexical, morphological and analytic, expressions of negation, as well as “secondary” modifications, which include what I describe as “reinforcers or supporters”, e.g. the verbal prefix and tones.

In compliance with results from typological studies, in standard negation, discontinuous-double negation marking strategy is uncommon (or rather not attested) in Yukuben, but occurs instead in non-standard negation as attested by the imperative examples (cf., for instance sub-section 3.3). The standard negation strategy involves typically symmetric structures. As explained in section 2 above, structures are referred to as symmetric when positive constructions do not differ from their negative counterparts “in any way other than by the presence of the negative marker” (Miestamo 2007:556), which is in the case of Yukuben either the clause-final particle *kɔŋ* (in *Bā-lāābàn*) or the clause-final adverb *ké-nāŋ* “very well” (in *Bá-lísà-Yukuben*).

All negated declarative verbal clauses in Yukuben illustrate the basic means of expressing standard symmetric negation. The verbal prefix which occurs obligatorily in the negative cannot be considered to be a discontinuous negative marker because it can also occur in some affirmative constructions (cf., for instance (13)). As explained above, its function may be

emphatic. Moreover, it can be an index of a Proto-Niger-Congo preserved subject-marking system, as is still attested in many Bantu languages.

In contrast, discontinuous-double negation is overtly attested only in the framework of non-standard negation, precisely in the marking of negative imperatives (or prohibitive/injunctive), exemplified in (19) and (20). There, standard negation is expressed by means of the particles *fě ... kɔ̃ŋ* in clause-initial position and clause-final position, respectively.

G. Lexical negation

Most of the times, lexical negation describes a situation in which the concept of negation is an integral part of the lexical semantics of a particular verb. Such a verb may constitute what might be called an inherently negative verb.

H. Inherently negative verbs

Under normal circumstances (cf., for instance (8), negation is marked by a clause-final particle *kɔ̃ŋ*. However, when modal verbs, such as “want”, “wish” are involved, a “denial/negation” verb (or an inherently negative verb), e.g. *túŋ* “refuse” may be used instead, thereby omitting *kɔ̃ŋ*. Hence, inherently negative verbs are verbs the lexical meaning of which (covertly) include negation. Compare the following examples, where the verb *túŋ* “refuse” in Yukuben may be the lexical negative of *sú* “agree”.

(5) *sú* “agree” vs. *túŋ* “refuse”

(a) *Í-sú*.

3sg-agree

“s/he agreed.”

(b) *Í-túŋ*.

3sg-refuse

“s/he refused.”

Here, a type of asymmetry is manifested, precisely (in Miestamo’s terms) “constructional” asymmetry: the lexical verb *-sú* “agree” in (a) is replaced by *-túŋ* “refuse” in (b).

However, as shown in the following example, the clause-final negative particle *kɔ̃ŋ* can also be used to negate (5a):

(6) Negation by clause-final *kɔ̃ŋ*

í-[↓]í-[↓]sú *kɔ̃ŋ*.

3sg-SM-agree NEG

“s/he disagreed; s/he did not agree.”

(Where “[↓]” = IPA symbol for the representation of
“downstep”)

Here, symmetric negation is manifested in the negated sentence in (6), which preserves the linguistic structure of the corresponding affirmative. There again, the verbal prefix (subject marker) which agrees in number and person to the third person pronoun in subject position is introduced as a “reinforcer”, thereby fulfilling some emphatic functions. Furthermore, the tone of the verb changes from H to DS, which is triggered by the effect of the downstepping of the newly added verbal prefix. This change in tone may be regarded as an additional reinforcement strategy.

I. Morphological negation

The following ways of marking negation in Yukuben may be subsumed under morphological negation operations: morphophonological alternations, verbal prefixation and tonal alternations.

J. Morpho-phonological alternations

Morphological negation may entail morphemes (e.g. affixes) that are associated with the verb. In the following examples, whereas *mè* is used in affirmative (cf., for instance (7) and (9)), its allomorphs, e.g. *mà* and *mɔ̃* (see (8) and (10)) are used in the negative.

Mè, *mà*, *mɔ̃* can all be regarded as the shortened forms of the independent full form *àmá* “1sg”. Consequently, they may be regarded as clitics, especially on grounds of their behavioural characteristic, which includes the fact that they do not allow any referential marker on the verb as does the full form *àmá*. This characteristic alone reveals that they are not as independent as their full counterpart, *àmá*. As a result, their dependent status is represented graphically by their being

linked to the verb via a hyphen in the transcription. Compare the following paradigms.

N. The alternating forms of 1sg subject pronoun

(7) Positive

Mè-sáj í-dún ó-kāp mbé.
 1sg-see cl-child cl-old(ness) just/only
 "I saw only an old man."

(8) Negative

Mà-sáj ó-ⁿí kɔ́ŋ.
 1sg-see cl-person NEG
 "I did not see anyone."

This example shows that *mè* undergoes some phonological processes (*mè* + *sáj* > *mà-sáj*) here: it assimilates to the vowel of the verb, which is *a*, thereby yielding *mà*. Compare also the following similar examples, involving a different verb *bój* "kill". Here again, the quality of the vowel of the first person pronoun *mè* assimilates to that of the verb in negative counterpart of the sentence:

(9) Positive

Mè-bój è-rák.
 1sg-kill cl-rabbit
 "I killed (a) rabbit."

10) Negative

Mò-bój kì-zú kɔ́ŋ.
 1sg-kill cl-(some) thing NEG
 "I did not kill anything."

Here again, *mè* is used in affirmative and undergoes regressive assimilation (*mè* + *bój* > *mò-bój*) in negative, thereby yielding *mò*.

In examples (8) and (10), we may be dealing with some modified forms of constructional asymmetry types (see section 2), since there is a replacement of the *mè* positive marker by other forms, precisely *mà* and *mò* in the examples mentioned here above, respectively.

O. Change in tone

Tonal alternation plays an active role in the marking of negation in Yukuben. Like many other Niger-Congo languages, the language employs a distinct tone on the verb as well as on the TAM marker in negative clauses. Compare the following examples:

(11) Positive

(a) *Èmí rì sí ísí.*
3sg IMPERFV walk walk(ing)
's/he is walking.' [Lit.: 's/he is walking walk.']

(b) Negative

Èmí rí è-sì ísí kɔ̃ŋ.
3sg IMPERFV SM-walk walk(ing) NEG
's/he is not walking.' [Lit.: 's/he is walking walk not.']

The example shows tonal opposition in the tonal patterns of the TAM marker as well as in the verb itself in both (a) and (b).

P. Verbal prefixing

Another aspect of morphological negation in Yukuben entails the use of the verbal prefix. This prefix attaches itself obligatorily to the finite verb in negative.

(12) Positive

(a) *Èmí rì sí ísí.*
3sg IMPERFV walk walk(ing)
's/he is walking.' [Lit.: 's/he is walking walk.']

(b) Negative

Èmí rí è-sì ísí kɔ̃ŋ.
3sg IMPERFV SM-walk walk(ing) NEG
's/he is not walking.' [Lit.: 's/he is walking walk not.']

The prefix can be regarded as an anaphoric clitic pronoun, the function of which may be related to that of a subject marker (SM), as encountered in, for instance Bantu languages. It has generally an agreement function, with the preceding subject argument as its referent.

This type of verbal prefix may not be unusual in many other African languages, as (Creissels 2000) also points out. There, he notes: 'Most African languages have subject markers attached

to the verb forms... Note that many descriptions of West African languages do not mention the existence of subject markers attached to verbs ...'

Q. Analytic negation

According to (Payne 1997), analytic negation involves two basic kinds: (a) negative particles and (b) finite verbs. (With regard to the situation in Bá-lísà-Yukuben, a third type may be added, and that is an “adverb”.) From a typological point of view, negative particles may derive historically from negative verbs, and very rarely from other parts of speech, such as nouns, as in the case of Yukuben.

R. Clause-final negative entity

In Yukuben, depending on dialect, a clause-final entity is the basic device used to mark negation. In Bā-lāābèn-Yukuben group, it is a particle, and in Bá-lísà-Yukuben, an adverb.

Unlike the general situation in Central Nigerian Plateau languages, where negative particles have often been shown to derive from negative (sometimes modal) verbs via grammaticalisation, in Bā-lāābèn-Yukuben, on the contrary, the general sentence-final negative particle *kɔ̃ŋ* rather seems to have its origin not in the verb, but in the adjectival/nominal unit *kɔ́-hũŋ*, which is suspected to be the source of *kɔ̃ŋ*.

kɔ́-hũŋ generally means “not true, false, or falsehood”.

As already indicated, negative particles will be discussed here with respect to standard negation vs. non-standard negation. Declarative clause types are used to mark standard negation.

S. Declarative clause types

Imperfective

The imperfective (e.g., progressive and habitual, universal statement/general truth) aspect is generally marked by the morpheme *lé/rí*. Depending on other constituents in a clause, the latter can be either on a H-, M- or L-tone. In the following example, it is on a L-tone in affirmative, and on H in negative. In

(14), however, it is on a M-tone in affirmative, and on H in negative. Hence, the Imperfective general morpheme can be said to be always on a H-tone in negative. Compare (2), repeated here as (13):

(13) Declarative sentence with a semantically inherent noun object (alias “prototypical patient”)

(a) *Positive*

<i>Èmí</i>	<i>rì</i>	<i>à-ʝú</i>	<i>kè-tégbān.</i>
3sg	IMPERFV	SM-weave	cl-basket

‘s/he is making a basket.’

(b) *Negative*

<i>Èmí</i>	<i>rí</i>	<i>á-ʝù</i>	<i>kè-tégbān</i>
3sg	IMPERFV	SM-weave	cl-basket

kɔ̃ŋ.
NEG
“s/he is not making a basket.”

As explained in sub-section 3.3, the entity “basket” in this example can be regarded as a prototypical patient, as described by (Payne 1997:51).

As was also argued in sub-section 3.5, the verbal prefix that occurs obligatorily in negative cannot be analysed as a negative marker because of the basic fact that it also occurs in some affirmative construction types, as shown in (13)a. Hence, as said elsewhere here, it may be functioning as a “reinforcer” alongside other secondary modifications, such as tonal alternations and changes.

(14) Declarative sentence with a semantically non-inherent or derived noun object (non-

Prototypical patient” (alias implied patient))

(a) *Positive*

<i>Āmà</i>	<i>rī/rē</i>	<i>sí</i>	<i>í-sí.</i>
1sg	IMPERFV	walk	cl-walk

“I am walking.” [Lit.: “I am walking walk.”]

(b) *Negative*

<i>Āmà</i>	<i>ré</i>	<i>ē-sì</i>	<i>í-sí</i>	<i>kɔ̃ŋ.</i>
1sg	IMPERFV	SM-walk	cl-walk	NEG

“I am not walking.” [Lit.: “I am walking walk not.”]

(Where *ísí* is derived from the verb *sí* via nominalisation. Hence, *ísí*, the implied patient of the verb *sí* is functioning as a dummy (alias “cognate”) object.)

Perfective – factative (cf. Welmers 1973), see (Anyanwu 2010), (Nurse 2012b))

Perfective (used here in the sense of Factative - as formulated by (Welmers op. cit.:346)) has two basic characteristic features: 1) structurally unmarked form (especially in contrast with Imperfective), and 2) functionally representing, on the one hand, past, complete situations when used with non-stative/dynamic verbs, and on the other hand, current, non-past, incomplete states, when used with stative verbs. Compare (Welmers 1973): ‘Factative expresses the most obvious fact about the verb in question, which in the case of active verbs is that the action took place, but for stative verbs is that the situation obtains at present’.

Note: The term “aorist” is also used by some other authors.

In Yukuben, in the Factative, non-stative/dynamic verbs are morphologically unmarked. However, in affirmative, there is generally a manifestation of H-tone, which undergoes DS in negative. Additionally, there is the occurrence of the verbal prefix (SM). Compare the examples below:

(15) Factative (non-stative/dynamic verb)

(a) Positive

Í-bá *í-ǎĩ*.

3sg-come cl-yesterday

S/he came yesterday. [Lit.: Her/his coming yesterday.]

(b) Negative

Í-ì-⁺bá ⁺*í-ǎĩ* *kɔŋ*.

3sg-SM-come cl-yesterday NEG

‘s/he did not come yesterday.’

Moreover, the H-tone of *í-ǎĩ* is also on DS in negative.

Perfect

“Perfect” represents a complete situation which, at the same time, shows a particular connection to the present. Its marking tends to derive typically from grammaticalising auxiliary verbs

such as “finish” or by modifying Perfectives, as can be seen in the following Yukuben example, where the Perfect marker *māη* can be interpreted as “already”:

(16) Perfect: negative

Í-i-⁺bá *māη* *kōη*.
 3sg-SM-come PERFV.already NEG
 ‘s/he has not come yet.”

Ability/potential

In (17), the affirmative ability/potential is symmetric with its corresponding negative structure:

(17) Ability/potential

(a) Positive

Í-bā *àrúη*.
 3sg-come able
 “s/he is able to come = S/he will be able to come.”

(b) Negative

Í-bā *àrúη* *kōη*.
 3sg-come able NEG
 “s/he is not able to come.”

With the exception of the presence of the clause-final negator *kōη*, there is no change in structure, in both the affirmative and the negative constructions in (17). In other words, symmetric negation is manifested in the negated sentence in (17), which preserves the linguistic structure of the corresponding affirmative.

S. Non-standard negation strategies

As already stated above, in many worlds’ languages, non-standard negation is attested to be found in imperative (including injunctive/prohibitive), existential, locative, possessive, subordinate clauses and non-verbal constructions, such as clauses with nominal and adjectival predicates.

Non-standard negation can involve discontinuous-double negative markers, as can be seen in the negative imperatives.

T. The negative imperatives (prohibitives)

As examples (18)-(20) show, the second person imperatives involve affirmative commands, whereas their negated counterparts entail prohibitives. The affirmative command (18) is symmetric with its corresponding negative imperative (19), for instance.

(18) Positive - singular imperative

Dàη!

go

“Go/leave!”

(19) Negative - singular imperative (*fé* ... *kɔ̃η*)

Fé *dàη* *kɔ̃η*.

PROHIB go NEG

“Don’t leave!”

(20) Negative - singular imperative with *fé* undergoing assimilation

Fó [†]*sú* *kɔ̃η*; *rún* *táp̃*;

PROHIB.FOC sing NEG; remain still/quiet;

báá-ⁿjí *rā* *nā* *bū-lā*.

cl-person.pl PROG sleep cl-sleep

“Don’t sing; be quiet; people are sleeping.”

Apart from the general sentence-final negative marker, the negative imperative makes use of another special negator *fé*, which I describe as the “prohibitive” marker. It occurs in sentence initial position, and can be subject to assimilation. “*fé*” occurs generally with front vowels as well as with the schwa; it becomes “*fó*” in the environment of back vowels. In the affirmative commands and prohibitives, there is no overt second person singular pronoun.

U. Negation of the hortative (prohibitive injunctive)

The first person negation hortatives involve affirmative injunctives, whereas their negated counterparts entail prohibitive. There is an overt first person pronoun plural in both affirmative and negative.

(21) Hortative

Dó [†]*sú* *kū-bōη* *nī*
 1pl.HORT sing cl-song DEICT
ì-bōη!
 ANAPH.AGR-all/together
 “Let’s all sing the song.”

(22) Negative hortative

Dó [†]*sú* *kōη*; *í-rí* *ná* *bú-lá*.
 1pl.HORT sing NEG; 3sg-IMPERFV sleep cl-sleep
 “Let’s not sing; he is sleeping.”

It can be seen that there is a paradigmatic asymmetry in (22): a category is neutralised, precisely the dummy/cognate object *kū-bōη* which is present in (21). Otherwise, with the exception of the neutralised category in (22) coupled with the presence of the negative marker *kōη*, it can be said that the affirmative injunctive in (21) is structurally symmetric with its corresponding negative injunctive in (22).

IV. Section four

A. Typological work: a survey of Bá-Lísà-Yukuben

In Bá-lísà-Yukuben, for instance, the adverb *ké-nāη* “very well” is used to negate clauses. Although the use of comparable adverbs in the marking of negation has not hitherto received much attention in the literature, (Jaggar 2009), for instance, also describes a set of negative adverbial intensifiers in Hausa. These include adverbs of time, frequency and degree, which can both be positive (e.g. meaning “always”) or negative (e.g. meaning “never”) dependent on the environment.

(23) Positive

Mè *dáη* *ēyī* *ìCaleb*.
 1sg go with Caleb
 “I went with Caleb.”

(24) Negative

Mè *dàη* *èyí* *ìCaleb* *kénāη*.
 1sg go with Caleb NEG
 “I went without Caleb.”

The occurrence of tonal alternation can be observed in negative. There, the verb “go” is not on a H-, but L-tone. Furthermore, “with” has a L-H tone pattern.

In Bá-lísà, in affirmative, *kénāη* is not used; instead another adverb *kémáη* “very well”, “too much” or “enough” is used.

(25) Affirmative with *kémáη*

Àà-wú ↑à-mí ā-bā í-Λĩ ń
cl.sg-man REL-CONC SM-come cl-yesterday EMPH
ā-dūη èní ń
SM-talk much EMPH
kémáη.

INTENS.too much/very well/enough

“The man who came yesterday made much noise.”

[Lit.: “The man who came yesterday talked so much.”]

A. An overview of Yukuben negation strategies

The clause-final negative particle *kɔ̃η* (as in Bā-lāābèn-Yukuben) or the adverb *ké-nāη* “very well” (as in Bá-lísà-Yukuben) are the basic and major means of encoding negation in Yukuben; others may be regarded as reinforcers or supporters. The following tables summarise the various negative strategies.

<i>Dialect</i>	<i>The general clause-final negative particle / word</i>	<i>comment</i>
<i>Bā-lāābèn</i>	<i>kɔ̃η</i>	derived probably from /* <i>kɔ̃-hũη</i> /"false/falsehood"
<i>Bá-lísà</i>	<i>ké-nāη</i> (translated literally as “very well”)	can be analysed as an intensifier, probably with the discourse interpretation “yes, but ...”

Table 35.1: The general negative marker

<i>Type</i>	<i>Comment</i>
Special inflection: anaphoric verbal prefix	a preverbal clitic functioning as subject marker; it is found in all the dialects
Tonal alternation	occurs in all the dialects

Table 35.2: Reinforcers/supporters

B. Closely related languages

Several other related languages, including one of Yukuben's closest sister languages, Kuteb and several other Central Jukun languages have also been reported to employ sentence-final negation particle or suffix (as the case may be). Besides, they make use of one form of secondary modification or another in the marking of negation, such as a post-verbal pronoun. As a matter of convenience, some languages have been chosen here for demonstration as well as for comparison.

<i>Language</i>	<i>marker</i>	<i>Position</i>	<i>type</i>	<i>origin/source</i>
Kuteb	<i>bē</i>	clause-final	particle	not yet certain
Wukari-Jukun	<i>bá/bá</i>	-idem-	-idem-	-idem-
Takum-Jukun	<i>bá</i>	-idem-	-idem-	-idem-
Hone-Jukun	<i>-é</i>	verb-final	suffix	-idem-

Table 35.3: General basic negators in Yukuben's sister languages

<i>Type</i>	<i>status/function</i>	<i>language</i>
post-verbal pronoun (alias "copy pronoun")	a special reinforcer with "agreement" (and probably also) focus-marking properties	Kuteb
-idem-	-idem-	Wukari-Jukun
-idem-	-idem-	Takum-Jukun
pre-verbal Imperfv <i>t(i)(à)</i> ; Perfv <i>-r̀-</i>	aspect-marking	Hone-Jukun

Table 35.4: "Reinforcers" of negation in Yukuben's sister languages

Compare the following examples:

(26) Kuteb

(a) (Koops 2010: 140)

Àwū kìm-wū cwúcwò bē.

3sg fat-3sg again NEG

"He's not fat anymore."

(b) (Koops 2010: 231)

Anī tá-nī ùwàè kùsóg bē.
 2pl Loc-2pl inside house NEG
 “You are/were not in the house.”

(27) Wukari-Jukun (alias “Wapan”) – (Shimizu 1980: 277)

(a) Positive

M̃ di ya jíná.
 “I am going today.”

(b) Negative

M̃ di ya m̃ jíná bá.
 I am going RP today NEG
 “I am not going today.”

(Where “RP” is interpreted by the author as “repeating pronoun” (“recapitulating pronoun”, according to Koops); M-tone remains unmarked.)

(28) Takum-Jukun – (Welmers 1968: 56)

Bē rī bī bé ¢bá.
 3pl TAM come RECAP NEG
 “They are not coming.”

(29) Wukari-Jukun – (Welmers 1968: 57)

Nī rī t̃sā ní b̃ūt̃sō ¢bá.
 2pl TAM COP RECAP work NEG
 “You aren’t working.”

(Note: All examples taken from Welmers were not originally interlinearised. Hence, all interlinearisation specifications originate from the present author.)

C. A note on the post-verbal pronoun

The post-verbal pronoun has been given various names, such as “repeating pronoun”, “recapitulating pronoun”, “copy pronoun” or “intransitive copy pronoun” (cf., for instance (Wolff and Gerhardt 1977), as in also some Chadic languages) and has been interpreted and analysed as a “copy” of the pronoun in subject position, the function of which has sometimes been interpreted as the “object” of an intransitive verb.

My own quick interpretation (or rather analysis) of the pronoun in the Jukunoid languages mentioned here, however, is that it:

1. Is a reflexive (emphatic) pronoun, certainly functioning as a reinforcer in the framework of secondary modification
2. May be regarded as a mirror image (though with some limitations) of the verbal prefix in Yukuben.

This point of view (particularly the (i) variant), seems to fit largely into some other views and analyses in relation to similar post-verbal pronouns, as found in, say some Narrow Grassfields Bantu (cf., for instance (Mihās 2009)) on Metta. According to Mihās, such post-verbal pronominal forms have been “hypothesized” to be a repeat subject in the form of a possessive pronoun (in the case of Ngie) which agrees in person and number with the subject, and reflexive pronouns as “the obligatory repeated subjects” in, say Metta. Hence, in each of the cases, in negative, there has been a tendency for such post-verbal pronouns to be analysed as functioning as negative morphemes in the framework of discontinuous negation. Compare the following examples:

(30) Ngie, (Mihās 2009:203), from (Watters 2003:251)

Wə-à kī kɔ̃m-ɔ̃ má báu.
 3sg-P2 NEG hit-IMPF 3sg.Poss dog
 “He did not hit the dog.”

In (30), there are two negative markers: *kī*, past tense negative marker, and *má*, which (as already explained, following Mihās) are “hypothesized” to be a repeat subject in the form of a possessive pronoun”.

(31) Metta, (Mihās 2009:204), from Spreda (1991:7-8)

Kà'á má wā nì-á àmí gywí āgwām.
 NEG I IMPF take-IMPF REFL goat hunt.LOC
 “I do not take a goat on a hunt.”

(31) Involves the standard negation *ka-* and *àmí*, a reflexive pronoun, assumed to be the “obligatory repeated subject”.

The next language to be treated is Hone. We are confronted here with quite a different system altogether, as the following example indicates. Unlike all the other languages discussed here so far, this example shows that the language rather makes

use of a verbal suffix included in the verbal word, instead of the general sentence-final bare negators or negation particles used in the other languages. Furthermore, as can be seen, unlike the other languages, it makes use of an operator, which can be likened to a TAM marker, as secondary modification.

(32) (Hone-Jukun, Storch 1999: 251)

(a) *ṣ-tì-nī-é*.

NSP.2sg-IND.NEG-know-NEG

“You haven’t learned (it).”

(Where *-tì* is the Imperfective marker in the negation, *-é* is reported to be a suffix functioning as the negation of the verbal action (German: “die Verbalhandlung”))

D. Comparing and contrasting negation in Jukunoid

There tends to be some degree of coherence in the Jukunoid languages in terms of negation patterns. Although these languages (including Yukuben) may differ in content and semantics of their negation marking (including secondary modifications), they all (probably with the exception of Hone, with its verbal suffix) have one basic negation marking pattern in common: clause-final negation encoded by a general negation particle.

E. Observation and remark

As can be seen in the following sub-section, clause-final negation marking also applies to languages even (far) beyond the borders of Yukuben. Consequently, following (Cyffer 2009), areal factors are important in the development of negation strategies in these languages, thereby implying that genetic factors are less significant.

Beyond related languages

(a) Kagoro (Plateau, Central Nigeria, Benue-Congo)

Most other Central Nigerian (in particular Plateau) languages are also widely known to make use of comparative clause-final negative particles. An example is Kagoro (Plateau, Central Nigeria, B-C). In this language, for instance, the general

negative particle *dák* is considered to be a grammaticalized form of the modal verb *lák* “refuse, not willing”. (The tonal pattern of *dák* varies according to the aspect type involved at a given time.) Here, in the following sentence, where the Perfective is involved, the negative marker is on a H-tone, in contrast to the situation in a construction involving the Imperfective, where it is on a DS, for instance.

(33) Kagoro, Plateau, Central Nigeria, B-C (Adwiraah – 1989:90)

(a) Perfective

è bày dák.

3sg come NEG

“He didn’t come.”

(b) Imperfective

ń nát búli †dák.

1sg go home NEG

“I am not going home.”

Furthermore, from a cross-linguistic point of view, clause-final negative particles are found in a number of West African languages, as the following examples from Kisi and Hausa show.

(b) Kisi (Atlantic)

As noted by (Childs 2009:41), for instance, Kisi makes use of a *lé* negative marker (also) in combination with tonal (and sometimes) segmental changes on the finite verb. Compare, for instance, the following example:

(34) Kisi (Atlantic): subject focused and negated – (Childs 2009:41)

Ò cówèlânɗánɗâlélàhîɗnááhòllálé.

ò có wèlân ndán lân lé là hîɗ náá

it COP resemblances these NEG PRO spin us face

hòllálé

NEG

“It is not these resemblances that confuse us (spin our heads).”

(Note: “A doubly negated construction is used, where only one item, the focused item, is logically negated.” In which case, the expression would otherwise be interpreted thus: “It is not

the case that the resemblances do not confuse us; they do!" (Childs op. cit: idem)).

(c) Hausa (Chadic, Afroasiatic)

In Hausa (Chadic, Afroasiatic), for instance, a clause-final particle *bá* is also used as part of a "double" negation chain, in combination with another sentence-initial *bà* to mark negation in the completive aspect.

(35) Completive aspect negative

(a) Positive – (Kraft and Kraft 1973:110)

Nā sánì.

1sg know

"I know."

(b) Negative – (Kraft and Kraft 1973:108)

Bàn sánì bá.

NEG.1sg know NEG

"I don't know."

(Where information on inter-linearisation originates from the present author)

V. Section five

A. Negation in relation to question markers

The connection between negation and question particles is not a new phenomenon, and is in fact, typologically relevant.

In (van Gelderen 2008), for instance, there was not only a mention of a connection between the two; there was also an attempt to make a diachronic connection between them. There, it was shown that negatives are a frequent source of interrogatives (e.g. Arabic, Chinese, Latin, and Navajo). In the same vein, this section will be devoted to the discussion of the connection that exists between negation and question marker in Yukuben.

In Yukuben there seems to be a clash between negation and interrogation in a yes/no negative sentence, in some TAM types, i.e. the usual clause-final question marker may become redundant by being eliminated (or more appropriately, "replaced") by the negative particle, for instance in the Perfect.

On the other hand, the usual yes/no question marker *áã/áā* may share the same structural pattern with the negative. This means that like the negative, the question marker is also clause-final, whereby both can accommodate each other. In other words, the negative marker and the question marker may sometimes occur simultaneously, depending on TAM-type, e.g. the Incompletive (see sub-section 5.1.3, below).

B. The imperfective

(36) Question

Ō-gū ʰdú rī ʰtú kī-bī áā?
 cl-wife 2sg.POSS IMPERFV cook meat Q-tag
 “Is your wife preparing meat?” [Lit.: “Your wife is cooking meat?”]

(37) Negation answer

Īyēè, í-ré ò-tù kī-bī kɔŋ.
 NEG, 3sg-IMPERFV SM-cook cl-meat NEG
 “No, she is not preparing meat.”

(Where *-ré* results from regressive partial assimilation (< *-rí* + *ò-tù*))

As mentioned above, in some TAM-types, the question marker is eliminated (and/or replaced) by the negative marker, as is the case in the Perfect (cf. sub-section 5.1.2). This example may help to confirm the stable and robust nature of negatives. Otherwise, they would not be a frequent source of interrogative (e.g. Arabic, Chinese, Latin, and Navajo), as stated above, referring to (van Gelderen’s 2008) observation.

C. Perfect

In the Perfect, there seems to be a clash between negation and interrogation in a yes/no negative sentence, whereby the usual clause-final question marker tends to become pleonastic (i.e. redundant) and is, therefore, replaced by the negative particle.

(38) Perfect

(a) *Ī í-bú é-tím nī è-kpé*
 3sg SM-make/do cl-work DET AGR-finish
 māŋ *kɔŋ?*

- PERFV.yet NEG
 “Hasn’t s/he finished the work yet?”
 (b) *Bé* *ò-bú* *é-tím* *nī* *è-kpé*
 3pl SM-make/do cl-work DET AGR-finish
 māη *kɔη?*
 PERFV.yet NEG
 “Haven’t they finished the work yet?”

It can be seen that the usual question tag is missing in this example. Consequently, this suggests that sentential negation tends to have a fixed position in the clausal hierarchy, as is also suggested by (Brown and Franks 1995).

D. Incompletive

(39) Incompletive

Positive

- Mè* *rí* *bú* *é-tím* *nī*
 1sg IMPERFV do cl-work the
è-é-kpē *ó-bū.*
 SM-PARTCP.STAT-finish cl-hand.INCHOA
 “I am finishing the work.”

Negative

- (a) *Mè (>mò)* *ò-bú* *é-tím* *nī* *è-kpé* *à-rún* *māη*
 1sg SM-do cl-work the SM-finish PREF-able already
 (b) *È-hí* *ú-bū* *é-tím* *nī* *è-kpé* *kɔη* *áā?*
 EP-COP 2sg-do cl-work the SM-finish NEG Q-tag
 “Are you not finishing the work?”
 òò-bú *é-tím* *nī* *è-kpé* *māη* *kɔη.*
 2sg SM-do cl-work the SM-finish already NEG
 “You have not yet finished the work.”
 (c) *Mò* *ò-bú* *é-tím* *nī* *è-kpé* *māη*
 1sg SM-do cl-work the SM-finish already
 kɔη.
 NEG
 ‘I have not yet finished the work.’
 (d) *Ī* *ì-bú* *é-tím* *nī* *è-kpé* *kɔη* *áā?*
 3sg SM-do cl-work the SM-finish NEG Q-tag
 “Hasn’t s/he finished the work?”
 (e) *Bé* *ò-bú* *é-tím* *nī* *è-kpé* *māη* *kɔη*

3pl SM-do cl-work the SM-finish already NEG
áā?
 Q-tag
 “Haven’t they finished the work yet?”

VI. Section six

A. Tracing the probable source of *kōŋ*

It can be assumed that the sentence-final negative marker *kōŋ* may originate from **kó-hōŋ*, which is the lexeme for “not true/false/falsehood” in Yukuben.

By analogy, the opposite of *kó-hōŋ* is *ká-vāŋ* “true/truly”, as illustrated below:

(40) *ká-vāŋ* “true/truly”: the opposite of *kó-hōŋ*

Í-sáŋ kì ká-vāŋ.

3sg-see it cl-true/truly

“He certainly saw it.”

Assuming that *kōŋ* actually evolved from **kó-hōŋ*, then following Heine and Kuteva (2002) on grammaticalisation mechanisms, a hypothesis about the grammaticalisation paths of the present-day negative particle can be formulated thus:

(41) Desemanticisation > (decategorialisation) > erosion

Given this formulation, the lexeme **kó-hōŋ* must have undergone desemanticisation (alias ‘semantic bleaching’, i.e. loss of semantic specificity (van Gelderen 2008:245)), leading to decategorialisation (i.e. loss in morphosyntactic properties characteristic of lexical or other less grammaticalised forms), and then followed eventually by erosion (or rather “phonetic reduction” (Heine and (Kuteva 2002:2))), i.e. loss in phonological weight (Van Gelderen)). This can be translated thus:

(42) The evolution paths of the negative marker *kōŋ*

1. */*kó-hōŋ/ > ∅ meaning content > ∅ category > kōŋ*

At first, */*kó-hōŋ/* undergoes loss in meaning content, which results automatically in decategorialisation. The final stage which yields *kōŋ* will then include the following co-ordinate (sub) processes:

1. ‘syllabic erosion’ (Heine and Reh 1984:21)

(Whereby the syllable containing *-hū* drops, leaving behind both its coda “*η*” as well as the M-tone, which eventually “floats”. This results in */*kɔ́-hūη/*, changing from bisyllabic to monosyllabic, thereby yielding *kɔ̃η*)

2. Tonal docking and segmental merger

(This entails the left-ward docking of the resulting “floating” tone onto the H-tone of **kɔ́*, thereby yielding *kɔ̃*, followed probably immediately by the fusion of the “stranded” *-η*, which gives rise to the final structure *kɔ̃η*).

Hence, this can be summarised schematically as follows:

1. */*kɔ́-hūη/* > *kɔ́* > *kɔ̃η*

VII. Summary and conclusion

The contribution has gone through the scope and various ways of marking negation in Yukuben. These are based partly on general typological considerations: lexical negation, morphological negation, and analytic negation.

Examples were given to support the cross-linguistic fact that declarative clause types are used to mark standard negation, while non-verbal and existential clauses are used to mark non-standard negation.

An attempt was made to formulate the grammaticalisation paths of the present-day *kɔ̃η* negative particle.

Negation patterns in Yukuben were constantly related to typological work in general.

VIII. Findings and observations

Findings from the contribution reveal that negation patterns can uncover other patterns of (hidden) language structure. For instance, it was discovered that the Yukuben verbal prefix (SM) is part and parcel of the negative but not the affirmative, where it is optional. In the latter, its occurrence is rather restricted; there, it was observed to occur typically with verbs involving what (Payne 1997:51) describes as

“prototypical” patients. Hence, this tends to indicate that negation is more robust and conservative than affirmative.

It was observed that negation can be marked by positive polarity items, such as adverbs, as found in Bá-lísà-Yukuben (cf. *ké-nāŋ* “very well” as a general negator) and in Hausa, as reported by (Jaggar 2009).

Language-internal evidence from Yukuben as well as general cross-linguistic evidence partly confirms the observation (cf., for instance (Cyffer 2009)) that areal factors are important in the development of negation strategies in, at least West African languages, and that genetic factors are less significant.

Examples from Yukuben were used to highlight the typological relevance of the connection between negation and question particles.

IX. Further studies

The issue of the use of a positive polarity item, such as *ké-nāŋ*, as in Bá-lísà-Yukuben to mark negation proves to be an interesting challenge worth investigating further.

Besides, with regard to especially discontinuous-double negation phenomenon, it would be a worthwhile endeavour in future to also approach the discussion of negation in the Jukunoid languages considered here from the point of view of the Jespersen’s cycle.

Abbreviations

Agr	Agreement	Anaph	Anaphor
cl	Class	Conc	Concord
Cop	Copula	Deict	Deictic
Det	Determiner	Ep	Expletive
Emph	Emphasis/emphatic (marker)	Foc	Focus/focalised
H-tone	High tone	Imperf	Imperfective
Hort	Hortative	Inchoa	Inchoative
Impf	Imperfective	Intens	Intensifier
Ind	Indicative	L-tone	Low tone

Loc	Locative	Neg	Negative/negation
M-tone	Mid tone	Ø	Null/zero
NP	Noun/nominal phrase		
Oblq	Oblique case/position	Partcp	Participle
P2	Past tense 2?	Perfv	Perfective
pl	Plural	Poss	Possessive
Pref	Prefix	Pro	Pronoun
Prog	Progressive	Prohib	Prohibitive
Q-tag	Question tag	Ref	Referential
Refl	Reflexive	Rel	Relative (marker)
Sm	Subject marker	Stat	Stative
TAM	Tense-aspect-mood ⁺		Downstep
↑	a raised (or “upstepped”) L- tone		

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Issues in the analysis of verbs serialization in Meta?

Evelyn Fogwe Chibaka, University of Buea

Abstract

Verbs serialization or serial verb construction (SVC) is one of the linguistic phenomena that has been described and analyzed severally in most West African, Caribbean Creoles and even some Asian languages; yet there still remain some controversies in its derivational/analytical process. Despite the fact that there is similarity in the concept of what SVC is, there appear to be some differences and variations in the structural manifestations of the conception of SVC across different linguistic backgrounds. In a not very departed perspective, this paper while adopting the Government and Binding (GB) model will discuss some issues that are related to the analyses of the different structural types of SVCs in Meta?, while taking into account the fact that SVC literature proposes three basic distinct analytical approaches to explain the possible derivational process for SVCs, namely the *Coordination*, the *Adjunction* and the *Complementation* approaches (cf. Larson 1991:186). These three analytical approaches identified by Larson are an elaboration of two hypotheses discussed by Bamgbose (1982:10). These are: the *Mono-source hypothesis*, which is equivalent to the Coordination and the *Multi-source hypothesis*, which can be equated to represent both the Adjunction and Complementation approaches mentioned above. This paper discusses the problems faced in employing either of the two approaches in analyzing SVCs in Meta? and arrived at the conclusion that for a proper analysis of SVC in Meta? and related languages we need to adopt Baker's (1989) and Lefebvre's (1991) proposals in having a double-headed VP;

but deviating in the way the VP is projected in the tree of their Projection Principles.

Key words: *Issues, SVCs, Meta? and syntactic analysis approaches.*

1. General introduction

Meta? phonologically attest an inventory of 23 consonants, 8 vowels and 2 contrastive level tones (High verses Low), plus two phonemic contour tones (Rising ˘ vs Falling ˆ) (cf. Spreda (1986), Chibaka (2006). Morphologically, Meta? employs - 11 noun classes, most of which are arranged in pairings of singular/plural, overtly marked by prefixes; - free tense markers and prosodic features to contrast the temporal line distinction relating to the different action, state or event of the verbs. The present tense is indicated with a high tone on the final vowel of the verb (P0 = '), immediate past (P1 = fəʔ), yesterday past (P2 = kəʔ), remote/distant past (P3 = nyàʔà) and just one future tense (FUT = bɪrɪ). The verbal inflection is highly exercised by aspectual morphemes but with a remnant representation of mood.

In one of the first works on the subject, Westermann (1930:126) points out the main linguistic features of SVCs in Ewe, this, is apparently a representation of what happens in many other languages. '...all the verbs stand next to each other without being connected, ... all have the same tense or mood, and ... in the event of their having a common subject and object, these stand with the first, the others remaining bare...'

Apart from Westermann's observations, many scholars have expressed their views on SVCs pointing out the different types and the cross linguistic variation that they exhibit. Notable among them are Lord (1973) for West African Languages, Agbedor (1994) for Ewe, Carlson (1994) for Supyire, Osam (2003) for Akan, Ameka (2003, 2006) for Ewe, Kiessling (2011) for Isu, etc. SVCs have been defined variously but the notion means almost the same grammatical structure to different

people in different parts of the world where natural languages are spoken.

Bamgbose (1974) observed that SVCs or the term serial verb is generally used to refer to a combination of verbs which share a common subject in the surface structure. In West African, Southeast and East Asian and probably some Creole languages, Foley and Olson (1985) hold that SVCs are monoclausal verb sequences without overt markers of coordination or subordination intervened and grammatically, the serialized verbs pattern together, bearing the same temporal reference and modified under the same negation (adverbial) scope. Furthermore, in Kwa languages and Caribbean Creoles, Baker (1989) describes SVCs as constructions in which a sequence of verbs appears in what seems to be a single clause and there is usually one tense/aspect specification, a single structural subject and shared logical arguments for the whole chain of verbs. Among the many semantic analysis of SVCs, Lawal (1989) identifies 7 categories (resultative/benefactive, manner, purposive, locative/directional, circumstantial, comparative and temporaneity), which he claims to be universally attested in almost all SVCs manifesting languages. In spite of all the different definitions for SVCs, Foley and Olson (1985) point out that cross-linguistically, SVCs seem to follow a particular semantic hierarchy which is universal for some verb types. This universal hierarchy is presented in (1) below.

(1) Motion verbs > stance or postural verbs >stative intransitive verbs >transitive verbs (Foley and Olson 1985:48)

This hierarchy indicates that the most favoured verbs for serialization are basic motion verbs such as *come* and *go*. It can further predict based on probability which is influenced by the hierarchical order of verbs: if other verbs serialize in one language, it might have serialization of motion verbs, and the reverse is not true.

However in this paper, our focus is on justifying the appropriate syntactic analytic approaches necessary for Meta? SVCs since it seems to pose some challenges when its

derivation is been explained using the analytical approaches proposed in most SVC literature (i.e. Baker (1989) with a Complementation approach that is rendering a Coordination-Adjunction interpretation; Hale (1991) with the Adjunction; Lefebvre (1991) with the Complementation, Li (1991) with a more complex approach that reflects the three syntactic and the semantic approaches and Givon (1971) with a rather semantic than syntactic approach like the others).

After a general introduction of the topic and language in section 1, an overview of the general characteristics of SVCs and their manifestations in Meta? will be highlighted in section 2. Section 3 will examine the syntactic analytic approaches and how they assist in the analysis of Meta? SVCs. Issues arising from the employment of Baker's proposal of 'dual-headedness' projection principle for Meta? SVCs analysis and our proposal will be discussed in section 4. The conclusion, section 5 will put together the salient points arising from our discussions.

2. General characteristics of SVCs and their manifestations in Meta?

Since SVCs unveil some unique features of all the grammatical structures that exist in world languages, it means that they are bound by certain specific tenets which distinguish them from other grammatical constructions. Considering the cross-examination of SVCs definitions in section one, the following characteristics of SVCs are worthy of note. To say that these are characteristics of SVCs also mean that there are conditions which a grammatical structure must fulfill to be called a SVC. This is why Chang (2006) objectively opines that SVCs generally have to satisfy the following conditions.

(2) SVC conditions (Chang 2006)

- a. The linkerless condition
- b. The same Tense, Aspect and Mood (TAM) condition
- c. The subordination condition
- d. The lexical verb condition

Kiessling (2011: 10-36) in adopting Aikhenvald's (2006:4-21) conformity with Durie's (1988:3) criteria extends the properties of SVC to seven; where he considers the following points:

(3)

- a. absence of formal linking devices;
- b. SVC represents a single predicate
- c. monoclausality: SVCs are monoclausal
- d. Prosodic properties: SVCs have the same prosodic properties as monoverbal clauses
- e. Shared tense/aspect, mood, modality and polarity values
- f. Argument sharing: SVCs share at least one argument
- g. One event: all verbs in a SVC form a close-knit structure perceived as a conceptual unit.

Another perspective in the characteristics of SVCs in West African littoral languages are summarized by Ameka (2003:4-5) and indicated here in 4 as a sequence of two or more VPs (including any complements and adjuncts);

(4)

- a. without any marker of syntactic dependency,
- b. the VPs in the sequence are construed as occurring within the same temporal frame,
- c. the VPs share the same mood (e.g. imperative),
- d. the VPs can be formally marked for different aspect and modality categories,
- e. the individual verbs can function as independent verbs in simple clauses (in the same form),
- f. all VPs in the series share the same syntactic subject with variation on its expression across the languages,
- g. VPs cannot be formally independently negated,
- h. the verbs can be individually focused or questioned, and
- i. the VPs in the series together with their arguments and adjuncts constitute a monoclausal construction.

From an examination of the array of sometimes overlapping properties of SVCs as conceived by almost all the researchers on the topic SVCs despite the modifications of elements in their syntactic analysis, some characteristics remain basic. The verbs in the construction form distinct grammatical and phonological words. There is no limit on the number of VPs that can constitute a SVC, except for the linkerless condition means that in every SVC, the verbs that occur in a sequence are never supposed to be linked or combined by conjunctions or any form of linker.

This condition is shared by Westermann (1930:111) when he says that ‘The chief features of this are that all the verbs stand next to each other without being connected’. This is above all the most distinctive feature of SVCs and delimits serializing languages from non serializing languages. Deducting from the structural and semantic interpretation of SVCs, literature has identify four main categories of SVCs. Since, we mentioned earlier that Meta? is a verb serializing language; this can be illustrated in the examples (in 5) below.

(5) a. mbè kà? ɖɛ̀k gwènə.

mbè kà? ɖɛ̀k gwènə
3Pl P2 eat sleep
‘They ate and slept.’

b. Fòn kà? tònɔ́ Akèré tòmə mét.

Fòn kà? tònɔ́ Akèré tòmə mét
Fon P2 call Akere send 3Sg.Obj
‘Fon called Akere and sent him.’

c. wè fə? nɛ̀ŋ ìkáp zǒn ìnǎŋ tĩ.

Wè fə? nɛ̀ŋ ìkáp zǒn ìnǎŋ tĩ
3Sg P1 take 3-money buy 8-cocoyam Cook
‘S/he has taken money bought cocoyams and cooked.’

Unlike the example in (5a) where the verbs **ɖɛ̀k** ‘eat’ and **gwènə** ‘sleep’ are not linked nor intervened by any overt word,

the verbs in (5b) and (5c) are intervened by the object NPs. However, NPs are not linkers and so (5b) and (5c) do not violate the linkerless condition of Westermann (1930) in anyway.

Likewise, the same Tense, Aspect and Mood (TAM) condition posited by almost all the scholars for SVCs also imply that the serialized verbs in SVCs must always have the same markers for TAM. Meta? also qualifies as a serializing language because as illustrated below, the serialized verbs generally have one marker for TAM.

(6) a. wè kà? zǒn ìzú? jè?é.

Wè kà? zǒn ì- zú? jè?é.
 3Sg P2 buy 8+yam come
 'S/he bought yams and came.'

b. wè kà? dʒìkʰá yàmʰ.

Wè kà? dʒìkʰá yàm-á
 3Sg P2 sell+Prog talk+Prog
 'S/he was eating and talking.'

In Meta?, TAM markers always occur in preverbal positions. Together with the examples in (5), the SVCs in (6) contain the tense marker **kà?** 'P2' which precedes the serialized verbs they inflect. Since the tense of the two verbs is marked by the same tense marker, Meta? is said to respect the common shared tense condition.

Bamgbose (1974:17-18) in his opinion of what SVCs are, points out that:

... the term 'serial verbs' has been applied to the combination of verbs found in many West African languages where all the verbs share a common subject in the surface structure.

From this observation, verbs in SVCs are generally supposed to have a common subject, which is what is attested

in all the examples (in 4, 5 and 6) above. Meta? does not only manifest serial verbs in its structures but makes use of some of the different types attested in SVC literature as discussed below.

A.The different types of SVCs in Meta?

Despite the different indicators of the nature of the SVCs in languages as identified in most of the literature in SVCs, basically four types of SVCs can be attested in any SVC operating language (cf. Bamgbose 1982:4). The basic types outlined include, the Coordinate, Modifying, Purpose and Complex verb SVCs. If the distinction among SVCs can be accounted for by their different thematic relations binding the serial verbs and the arguments in their constructions (Larson 1991:186); therefore departing from Bamgbose's SVCs classification, one can attest that Meta? exhibits in addition Consequence, Simultaneous and Process SVCs.

a The Coordinate (or Linking) SVCs

These are the SVCs that structurally manifest the combination of independent structures where each verb has the same meaning as it would have had in a simple structural sentence. For example,

(7) a. m̀̀ k̀̀? j̀̀?́́ ǹ̀? ̀̀káp.

m̀̀ k̀̀? j̀̀?́́ ǹ̀? ̀̀káp.

1Sg P2 come take 3-money

'I came and took money/ I came to take money.'

b. mb̀̀ k̀̀? ɖ̀̀k gẁ̀ǹ̀.

Mb̀̀ k̀̀? ɖ̀̀k gẁ̀ǹ̀

3Pl P2 eat sleep

'They ate and slept.'

c. Mbá z̀̀n+́́ f̀̀n+́́.

Mbá z̀̀n+́́ f̀̀n+́́

Mbah buy+Prog sell+Prog

'Mbah is buying and selling.'

In analyzing the coordinate SVCs (in 7a-c) above, it is obvious that the verbs in the series do share a common subject argument and tense; but each of the verb can equally interpret a complete sense in its independent construction with the appropriate arguments if analyzed employing the mono-source hypothesis or the Coordination approach, which is however not the case with some of the other SVCs as will be unveiled with the progression of this discussion.

b. The Modifying SVC

SVCs in this category are structures with verbs in series, sharing the same tense but each of the verbs translates a different meaning in isolation as would do in this serial combination. That is, one of the verbs serves the function of modifying the action of the other in the series by losing its normal verbal property and assuming most often an adverbial function. For example,

(8) a. Abì fəʔ nórè wò wínì.

Abì fəʔ nórè wò ì-wínì.

Abi P1 run go 3-market

‘Abi has run to the market.’

b. Abì kəʔ nórè jèʔé ìngá nèp.

Abì kəʔ nórè jèʔé ìngá ø-nèp

Abi P2 run come inside 9-house

‘Abi rushed/hurried into the house.’

c. Fòmbàṅ kəʔ jènè wò nèpìṅwí.

Fòmbàṅ kəʔ jènè wò ø-nèpì-ṅwí

Fombang P1 walk go 9-house 3-God

‘Fombang walked/treked to church.’

In Metaʔ, it is realized that in this category of SVC, the second verb **wò** ‘go’ or **jèʔé** ‘come’ in the series is usually functioning as a modifier of the first verb as seen in 8 above. This observation falls in line with Foley and Olson’s (1985:48)

findings, which led to their hierarchical ordering indicating that the most favoured verbs for serialization are basic motion verbs such as *come* and *go*.

c. The Purpose SVC

As the title depicts, it refers to those SVCs where each verb in the series has the same meaning as it would have had in a simplex sentence, but as a combination they will transfer the notion of reason or purpose of the action or event. For example,

(9) *mə kəʔ jəʔé ghá rìdʒìk.*

a.

<i>mə</i>	<i>kəʔ</i>	<i>jəʔé</i>	<i>ghá</i>	<i>ø-rìdʒìk</i>
1Sg	P2	come	give	10-food

‘I came to give food.’

b. *Mbá kə̀bé wó fənó ɲgúp.*

<i>Mbá</i>	<i>kə̀bé</i>	<i>wó</i>	<i>fənó</i>	<i>ɲ-gúp</i>
Mbah	want+P0	go+P0	sell+P0	10-chicken

‘Mbah wants to go and sell chickens.’

c. *mə kəʔ kə̀bé nó mìníp.*

<i>mə</i>	<i>kəʔ</i>	<i>kə̀bé</i>	<i>nó</i>	<i>mìníp</i>
1Sg	P2	want	drink	6-water

‘I wanted to drink water.’

From the examples in 9, one realizes that the first verb (V1) in the series tends to carry the intention, reason or purpose of the action of the subsequent verbs in the construction. In these SVCs, the first verb seems to be the finite clause while the second (V2) appears in the interpretation of the sentence as the infinite ‘to be’ clause; despite the fact that all the verbs in the series might be sharing the same subject and tense.

d The Complex verb SVC (collocationally bonded verbs)

In this category of SVC, the verbs in the series must appear together to transmit the intended meaning of the structure and the verbs independently in simple sentences will mean

differently from what they will mean in these SVC nature. For example,

(10) a. Fòmbàŋ kà? bè?ě tén wé jè?é.

Fòmbàŋ kà? bè?ě ø-tén wé jè?é
 Fombang P2 carry 9-chair Det Come
 'Fombang brought the chair/ Fombang carried
 and came with the chair.'

b. Abìkà?nìŋfìkyìŋfìnwò.

Abì kà? nìŋ fì-kyìŋ fé wò.
 Abi P2 take 19-pot Det go
 'Abi collected the pot/ Abi took and went with the pot.'

As one interprets the examples in 10, it becomes clear that the SVCs in this category select an action verb plus a motion verb like **bè?ě** 'carry' or **nìŋ** 'take' plus **jè?é** 'come' to mean BRING and **bè?ě** 'carry' or **nìŋ** 'take' plus **wò** 'go' to translate COLLECT in Meta?. This goes to buttress the reason why this serial combination is termed Complex verb SVC, since two independent verbs in a simple construction must be collocationally bonded to interpret the equivalent of an event captured by a single verb/word in the English language.

e The Consequence SVCs

In these SVCs, the verbs portray some sort of 'cause' and 'effect' relationship; where something that follows comes as a result of the previous action. For example,

(11) a. Fòn fà? tòn ìkywí zé kút.

Fòn fà? tòn ì-kywí zé kút
 Fon P1 roast 10-maize Det crush/eat
 'Fon has roast maize and eaten.'

b. Mbá fà? bù?ú ñgòm zé tó?.

Mbá fà? bù?ú ñ-gòm zé tó?
 Mbah P1 strike 9-drum Det tear
 'Mbah has beaten the drum and burst/tore it.'

c. Abì kà? tín wán wé wò ghû.

Abì kà? tín w-án wé wò ghû
 Abi P2 push 1-child Det go fall
 'Abi pushed the child and he fell.'

d. Chick fà? sòm bú zé zwírì.

Chick fà? sòm ø-bú zé zwírì
 Chick P1 beat 9-dog Det kill
 'Chick has beaten the dog and killed it.'

e. Mbè kà? nó mìnǔ? bě.

mbè kà? nó mìn-ǔ? bě
 3Pl P2 drink 6-wine (palm) drunk
 'They drank wine and got drunk.'

Here, the second verb (V2) in the series is occurring as a result of the action of the first verb (V1); though they all share the same tense and subject argument.

f The Simultaneous SVC

This category of SVC has verbs whose actions are happening at the same time with the same subject as the initiator. For example,

(12)a. wè kà? ɖɛ̀k+á yàm-á.

wè kà? ɖɛ̀k+á yàm-á
 3Sg P2 eat+Prog talk+Prog
 'S/he was eating and talking.'

b. wán wé kà? jè?é jènǎ zè?ǎ.

w-án wé kà? jè?é-á jènè-á zè?è-á
 1-child Det P2 come+Prog walk+Prog cry+Prog
 'The child was coming and crying.'

The occurrence of the verbs in this SVC category is such that they must be actions that can all be carried out without one hindering the realization of the other and each of the verb portrays independent meaning though in these SVC they relates a single event.

g. The Process SVC

These SVCs are giving the interpretation of a series of actions geared toward a specific goal. For example,

(13)a. wè kəʔ tũʔ mìníp nó.

wè kəʔ tũʔ mìníp nó
3Sg P2 carry 6-water drink
'S/he carried water and drank.'

b. Fòn kəʔt òŋɔ́ Akèré tòmə mét.

Fòn kəʔ tònɔ́ Akèré tòmə mét
Fon P2 call Akere send 3Sg.obj
'Fon called Akere and sent him.'

c. wè fəʔ nìŋ ìkáp zǒn ìnǎŋ tǐ.

wè fəʔ nìŋ ìkáp zǒn ìnǎŋ tǐ
3Sg P1 take 3-money buy 8-cocoyam cook
'S/he has taken money bought cocoyams and cooked.'

d. mè kəʔ jèʔé nìŋ ìkáp zǒn rìdʒìk tǐ.

mè kəʔ jèʔé nìŋ ìkáp. zǒn ø-rìdʒìk tǐ
1Sg P2 come take 3-money buy 10-food cook
'I came, took money bought food and cooked.'

It can be realized that the last verb is the goal/aim of all the actions of the previous verbs in the series. The next section will examine the application of Baker's (1989) analytic approach on Meta's SVCs.

3. SVC Syntactic/derivational analysis in Meta?

The SVC literature has attested three principled hypotheses (Coordination, Adjunction and Complementation) in explaining the underlying representation from which the different structural manifestations of SVCs are derived. Larson

(1991:186-194) discussed and evaluated how five scholars (see introduction above) either employed one or a combination of these three analytic approaches to explain the derivational processes of SVCs in different languages. We are going to employ the approach that Baker (1989) used in explaining SVCs derivation. Baker made use of the Complementation approach, in which its interpretation somehow takes into account the Coordination and Adjunction analytic hypotheses. In going about this, Baker departed from the premise that serial constructions are dual headed, i.e. the serialized verbs jointly constitute a single predicate; where no lexical relation is assumed to hold between serial verbs prior to Deep structure, and dual-headedness is expressed directly in the syntax; thereby permitting ‘Object-sharing’ (Baker, 1989:191). This trio interconnected approach is captured by the tree diagram in 14, which analyzes the VP as coordination (i.e. a successive predication of the matrix subject, where the Deep structure of the serialization seems to express VP conjunction).

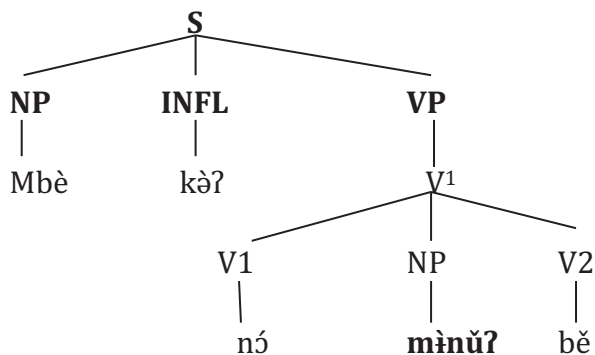
(14)a. Mbè kà? nɔ̀ mìnǔ? bě.

mbè	kà?	nɔ̀	mìnǔ?	Bě
3Pl	P2	drink	6-wine (palm)	Drunk

‘They drank wine and got drunk.’

The Phrase structure of the VP in 14 will be [VP [V1nɔ̀ [NP mìnǔ? [V2 bě]]]

b.



From the diagram in 14b, V is a complement that is non-maximal and the non-maximal item is a projection of V¹. Thus,

the intermediary V^1 contains two competing candidates for head i.e. $[V1 \text{ n3}]$ and $[V2 \text{ b3}]$ in which Baker claims that both verbs count as heads for the V^1 and that both directly theta-mark m3n3 thereby ‘sharing’ the direct object NP. Considering the fact that Baker is sorting for a complex predicate structure in SVC, where the VP is double-headed and the NP it contains is governed and theta marked by both verbs; at the level of theta marking, there seems to be a problem.

Assuming that the first verb in the complex n3 starts by theta marking the NP, m3n3 to its immediate left; the idea of the second verb b3 still assigning theta role to that same NP between the $V1$ and it, becomes somehow illogical. In justifying this proposal, Baker claims that if we properly interpret Chomsky’s (1986a) conditions of theta role assignment, repeated here as:

(15) α may theta-mark β iff:

(a) α and β are structural sisters;

(b) a projection of α is a structural sister of β .

We will realize that his proposal would adequately analyze all SVCs especially when the two verbs are transitive or ditransitive. Baker (1989:520) explains that 15a of the theta marking condition takes care of the $V1$ theta marking the NP direct object argument of the structure in 14.

On the other hand, he assumes that $V2$ under the license of 15b of the constraint above accounts for the well-formedness of its assignment of theta role to the same external NP argument. That is, since both $V1$ and $V2$ are sister nodes that are structurally projected to the same maximal VP projection, which together assigned to the subject by the clause in 14b, it automatically explains why there is no problem in two verbs assigning theta role to the same argument.

This analytic approach of Baker handles also SVCs that are having VPs represented as nested sequence of adjunctions to a main VP in the complex as illustrated in 16.

(16) a. Abì fəʔ nórè wò wínì.

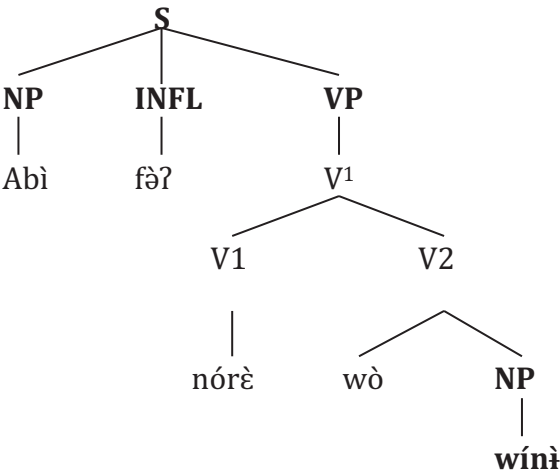
Abì fəʔ nórè wò ì-wínì.

Abi P1 run go 3-market

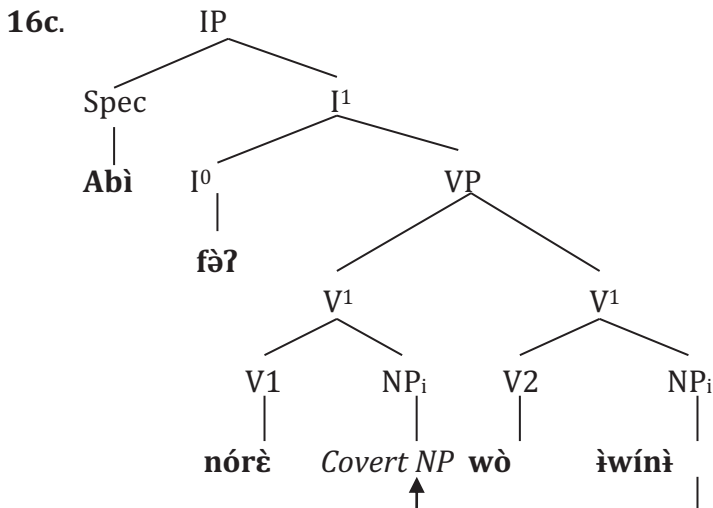
‘Abi has run to the market.’

The Phrase structure of the VP in 16 will be [VP [V1nórè[V2 wò [NP ìwínì]]]]

(16). b.



The tree diagram in 16b illustrates the Surface Structure of the sentence in 16a. We notice that the two verbs in the series are adjacent to each other and the V2 is forming a complement of the VP with an NP in 16. However, in the Deep Structure, after the V2 has assigned its theta role to the NP, the V1 also assigns the same GOAL, theta role as indicated in 16c below to the copy version or the internal argument. This confirms to Baker’s claim of ‘shared’ NP object argument by the double headed verb, VP in SVC.



The Deep Structure representation in 16c goes to indicate the fact that the NP object is copied at the V1 Spec for it to assign its theta role and Accusative case. This leads to some sort of ‘covert co-ordination’ where at the Surface Structure only the V2 marks the theta role but underlining, both V1 and V2 do to create a single event.

In this presentation of the VP as an adjunction constituent ordering, the V2 as in 16 forms a secondary predication with a basically modificatory status within the VP. This explains why the V2 in the interpretation of the action of the sentences only helps in modifying the main action of the V1; thus, in example 16 the V2 indicates locative information (adverb of place function) to the main verb.

The implementation of Baker’s analytic approach for the different SVCs in Meta? gives us the impression that all is fine. However, the main bone of contention here is the notion of ‘separate subject’ and ‘object NPs sharing’ in Baker’s analytic hypothesis of the SVCs.

4. Issues arising from the employment of Baker's proposal of 'dual-headedness' projection principle for Meta? SVCs analysis

The main strength of Baker's (1989) analysis approach of an SVC's VP being double headed is supported by the condition that both transitive verbs in the construction must obligatorily share theta role assignment on the lone NP direct object. To an extent as justified by his application of the theta role assignment condition stated in Chomsky (1986a), his application is tenable. That is however as far as it works when the verbs in the series are transitive.

Firstly, it becomes another issue when the verb series are a combination of transitive and intransitive as is the situation in 17 and 18 below. In such a construction, according to Baker's SVC analysis, one will expect the shared theta marking of the object NPs **wán wé** in example 17 and **bú zé** in 18 respectively by all the verbs in their constructions; but this is however, not happening. Here we realize a violation of the standard conditions on theta role assignment and Projection Principle adopted by Baker's analysis.

Abì kè? tín wán wé wò ghù.

17.

Abì	kè?	tín	w-án	wé	wò	ghù
Abi	P2	push	1-child	Det	go	fall
'Abi pushed the child and he fell.'						

Chick fə? sòm bú zé zwírì.

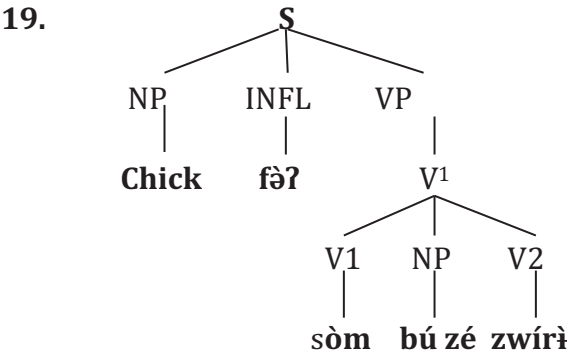
18.

Chick	fə?	sòm	ø-bú	zé	zwírì
Mbah	P1	beat	9-dog	Det	kill
'Mbah has beaten the dog and killed it.'					

In analyzing the SVCs in 17 and 18, it is obvious that V1 is transitive while V2 and V3 are intransitive verbs. So how does Baker's notion of shared object apply in this SVC analysis? According to Baker, in going about these structures he disqualifies them as SVCs since to him they are a sequence of

events and not a single event. However, from our classification of SVC in section two it is clear that the structures in 17 and 18 are justified SVCs judging from the standard characteristics of structures with verbs serialization under the Consequence SVC.

Secondly, still considering the structure in 17 and 18 above Baker (1989:529) in analyzing similar structures in Yoruba claims that instead of both the V1 and V2 sharing the same Subject, the Object NP of V1 should serve as the Subject of the V2 (and V3). As such Baker is proposing an underlining representation like what we have in 19.



The structure in 19 proposes two consequences for V2 the intransitive verb. The first is that V2 must be lexically capable of assigning an internal theta role and secondly that its theta role must be assigned to the object of V1 rather than to the subject of V1 (cf. Baker, 1989: 530). If we follow this analysis of distinct subject, then it will surely violate one of our major characteristics of SVC, which is all the serial verbs must share a single subject.

A Proposal to handle the SVC analyzing issues in Meta?

Relating to generative grammar literature, SVCs like any other syntactic phenomena should be subjected to universal ‘Principles and Parameters Theory (PPT)’ constraints to license their derivation. Thus, we will use the Government and Binding (GB) model in applying the PPT to explain how possible it can be to analyze SVCs in Meta? without confining to the two verbs to share a structural direct object and in some instances the

serial verbs having different subjects within the sentence as Baker (1989) suggests.

Since, primarily, Baker's assumption of shared NP object was stemming from his consideration of serial verbs having transitive nature, and we have attest in example 17 and 18 above that there are some SVCs having both transitive and intransitive verbs in their combination; then it becomes obvious that the application of Baker's proposition will become problematic in our language.

Reflecting on the theta criterion reiterated here as 20.

20. Theta criterion

a) Each argument is assigned one and only one theta role.

b) Each theta role is assigned to one and only one argument.

(cf. Haegeman 1994:54)

It is very clear that the idea of 'shared NP object' will mean that an argument will be doubly assigned theta role by two verbs in the same structure, which will be in violation of 20a of the theta criterion stated above.

We are of the opinion that instead of sharing an NP object at the Deep Structure of the derivational analysis, we suggest an adoption of the '**Null object**' *pro*, which is understood as a *non-overt NP element, an empty category*. This hypothesis allows us to maintain that the Controller cannot be omitted in sentences with object control, thus accounting for the grammaticality of the semantic relationship such as binding or predication as is the case in the VP of SVC in Meta? (see Haegeman, 1994:460-462). In this proposal, each of the verbs would have its own object position projected, which will be co-indexed; thus there will be no need for a single NP object to be shared by the verbs in the series. Thus, the theta criterion conditions will be respected. Following this alternative proposal, the example in 16 repeated here as 21 will now have a Phrase structural representation as illustrated in 21b.

(21) a. Abì fəʔ nórè wò wínì.

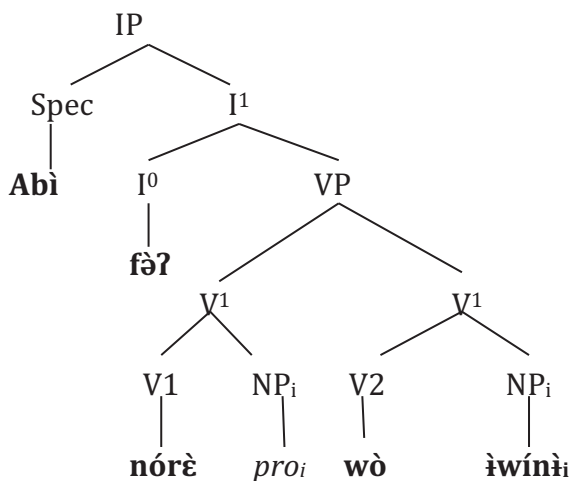
Abì fəʔ nórè wò ì-wínì.

Abi P1 run go 3-market

'Abi has run to the market.'

The Phrase structure of the VP in 21 will be [VP [V1nórè
[*pro*_i[V2 wò [NP ìwínì_i]]]]

21b.



We notice here that each of the verb head has an object NP argument that it is licensing at the Deep Structure level of representation, where one of the NP object is overt and the other is non-overt *pro* Null object NP. In which ever headed parameter introduced, both the overt and the non-overt NP object arguments in the SVC are co-indexed since the recovery of the identity/features or content of the *pro* is possible. This falls in line with Rizzi's (1986:521) proposition that for the identification of verb-governed *pro*, the content is established through a mechanism of *arb* assignment, which will associate the arbitrary interpretation with *pro*:

***Arb* interpretation**

Assign *arb* to the direct theta role (Rizzi 1986:521).

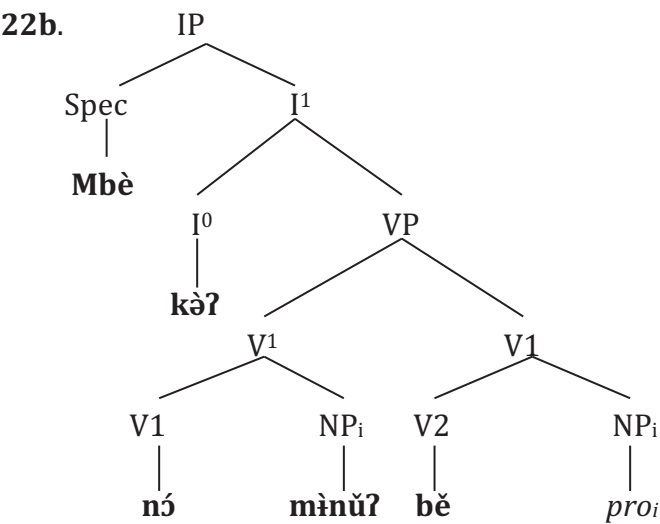
Rizzi further explains using empirical examples the possibility of V licensing *pro* in the object position in Italian language and how the recovery of the content of object *pro* in

Italian is due to a rule of arbitrary interpretation. The appreciation of our non-overt ‘Null Object’ argument hypothesis can be demonstrated in this SVC where the overt object NP is attached to the V1 and not the V2 as in 21 above.

(22)a. Mbè kəʔ nɔ mɪnũʔ bɛ.

mbè kəʔ nɔ mɪ-nũʔ bɛ
 3Pl P2 drink 6-wine (palm) drunk
 ‘They drank wine and got drunk.’

The Phrase structure of the VP in 22 will be [VP [V1nɔ [NP mɪnũʔ_i [V2 bɛ [*pro*_i]]]]



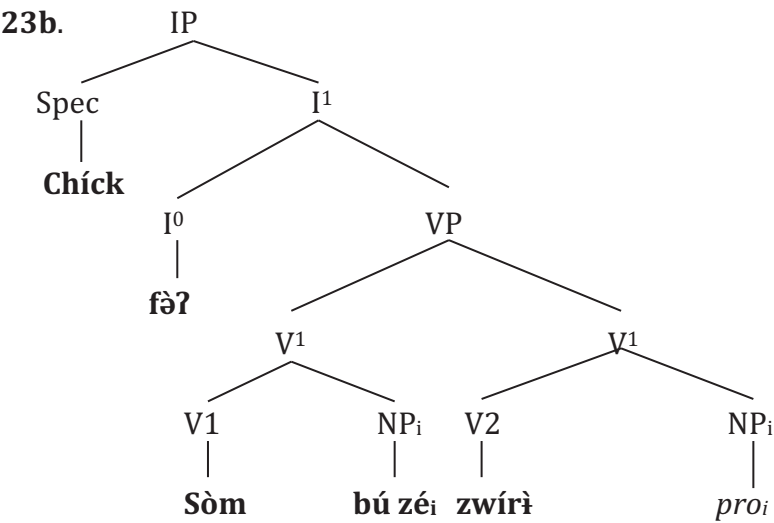
However, it should be noted that be it with the V1 or V2 of the dual headed VP, the interpretation of this object *pro* argument is restricted and licensed by the head verb. This is in conformity of Rizzi’s (1986:519) proposal that ‘the licensing of *pro* in object position can now be viewed as another instantiation of the licensing schema: in Italian, V belongs to the licensers of *pro*, in English it does not.’

To further demonstrate the appropriateness of our proposal, the example in 23 goes to show how the issue of two

subject NPs within the SVC as proposed by Baker (1989) is not logical in the analysis of some SVCs like the Consequence SVC in Meta?. Since Baker’s proposal couldn’t successfully analyze this SVC type, he concluded that they are not proper SVCs. However, since we have consider these SVCs with both transitive and intransitive verbs in their combination as proper (Consequence) SVC, we also assume that they can also be analyzed using the same hypothesis of ‘Null Object’ argument, *pro* element, empty category/non-overt argument in the constituent of any of the V head that doesn’t have an overt argument. The example in 23, further illustrate this notion.

23a. Ch́ick fəʔ sòm bú zé zwír̀̀.

Chick fəʔ sòm ø-bú zé zwír̀̀
 Chick P1 beat 9-dog Det kill
 ‘Chick has beaten the dog and killed it/ Chick has beaten the dog to dead.’



The diagram in 23b simply cancels the proposal of Baker’s model as far as the idea of the existence of two subjects within the SVC is concern. Baker claims that the subject of the V1 (**Ch́ick**, as for example 23) is the main subject while NP object of V1 (**bú zé**) will become the Subject of V2. Thus according to Baker’s analysis, the sentence in 23 is considered as two events

not one within a sentence; i.e. ‘Chick beats the dog’ and ‘the dog died’. This will interpret that there are two Agents in the sentence in 23 and the first clause has a transitive verb while the second, an intransitive verb. From our proposal, there is no issue of two subjects but just one and we went around this Baker’s claim by adopting the *pro*, ‘Null Object’ argument option, which clarifies the doubt around the possibility of an argument having two theta role; thereby violating the second condition under the theta criterion as stated in 20b (i.e. each theta role is assigned to one and only one argument).

5 Conclusion

We have identified the different categories of SVCs in Meta?, and employ Baker’s model of SVC analysis to analyze the different SVC types. The application of Baker’s model, which seems to be a synopsis of all the acknowledged SVC analytic approaches, (i.e. the Coordination, Adjunction and Complementation), resulted to some modification for its implementation for the SVCs in Meta? especially with respect to the notion or object sharing and distinct subject for the verbs within the sentence. An alternative proposal has been made for analyzing SVCs in Meta?. The proposed Projection Principle of ‘Null Object’, which is an empty *pro* argument category to merge with the verb of VP that does not have an overt object argument for its licensing. This proposal seems to take care of most if not all of the issues surrounding SVC analysis in Meta? and related languages that share similar serial verb structures.

Abbreviations

<i>arb</i>	Arbitrary interpretation	I	Inflectional node
Det.	Determiner	IP	Inflectional Phrase
INFL	Inflection	Obj	Object
N	Noun	Pl	Plural
NP	Noun Phrase	PP	Prepositional Phrase
<i>pro</i>	empty category	‘NullProg	Progressive marker
	Object’		
S	Sentence	Sg	Singular

Subj	Subject	V	Verb
V ¹	Intermediary Verb Phrase	V1	First verb in the series
V2	Second verb in the series	V3	Third verb in the series
VP	Verb Phrase		

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ⁱMeta? is a Wide Grassfields Bantu language that is spoken in the Momo Division, North West Region of Cameroon. It forms a clan cluster with: Ngie, Ngwaw, Moghamo, Widikum and Menka that makes up the division. Meta? is linguistically known as Menemo (cf. Chibaka 2006:22-26).

Modal-aspect complexes in Yoruba, a tense less language?

*Yun-Hsin Chang and Funmilayo Amos Olorundare,
University of London*

Abstract

The core arguments of this paper are that, firstly, Yoruba is a morphologically tense less language, and secondly, the so-called future markers in Yoruba are actually aspectual or modal markers. To support the first argument, data with a focus on the fact that a simplex sentence without modality or aspect marking can be interpreted as carrying past or present tense under appropriate context. As for the second argument, detailed examination will be presented on the three so-called 'future markers' in Yoruba. And we shall see significant interactions between modality and aspect in Yoruba.

Key words: Yoruba, TAM, tense less, Modality and Aspect

1. Introduction: Comrie's observation on West African languages

West African languages are said to be non-tense-prominent or tense less (Ameka 2008, Comrie 1976:82). Comrie claims that in Yoruba, stative verbs have only imperfective meaning, and take no marker, whereas non-stative verbs have no marker if they have perfective meaning. He further says that isolated, i.e. with context removed, perfectives would be interpreted as past tense and imperfective present. (Comrie 1976:82-83)

Comrie's observation is only half true. In most languages, particularly the so-called tense less languages, a context is always needed for the described eventuality to be mapped to

particular situations because speakers need information for context dependent semantic categories, such as tense. Take Yoruba for example, utterances as '*ó fẹowó*', the example given by Comrie to show that stative-verbs tend to get an imperfective reading, can be translated as '*He wants money*' or '*He wanted money*', all depending on context (Comrie 1976: 83). The situation where Comrie said to be without context would actually have a context-a context the speaker thinks of.

There are three points worth mentioning apart from the main discussion in Comrie's works: (1) aspect is not objective; one could usually freely refer to the same event in view of perfective or imperfective aspects (Comrie 1976:4), (2) the relation between grammatical categories of individual languages and semantic categories is complicated; it is not just an issue of whether a semantic category is grammaticalised or not, and (3) individual languages usually combine aspect with tense or other categories. (Comrie 1976:9)

2. Analyses from previous literature

A. Bamgboṣe (1966)

Bamgboṣe had a descriptive grammar on Yoruba basing on 'Scale and Category Theory of Grammar (SCG)'. He provided the description through form-based analysis. He structured the grammar according to morpho-syntactic units: from 'sentence,' 'clause,' 'verbal and nominal group,' to 'adjunct.' TAM markers are classified as 'restricted pre-verbs' that is under the 'verbal group, along with verbal particle, unrestricted pre-verbs, bound verbs, free verbs and post verbs. The TAM markers, i.e. restricted pre-verbs according to his analysis are listed in below:

(1)a) *iba* "would/should/could have," (b) *ba* "happen," (c) *ba* (preverb after *ki*), (d) *ibaa* "even if," (e) *gbodo* "must," (f) *yo/o* "will," (g) *a* "will," (h) *maa, ma* "be going to," (i) *a* "habitual," (j) *ki* 'should,' (k) *too* "reach" (preverb after *ki*), (l) *nii* "will" (preverb after *ko* or *o*).

However, the result after his classification is confusing. Firstly, the semantic categories assigned to individual pre-verbs

are diverse: some of them are verbal, the others modal or aspectual. Secondly, some of the pre-verbs might overlap in their function. There are three pre-verbs, i.e. (f), (g), and (l), that is translated as “will”, and (h) “be going to”. Thirdly, it seems that not all pre-verbs have even status because (c), (k), and (l) have to be preceded by other functional words.

B. Arasanyin (1986)

Arasanyin (1986) claims that there are verbs that only behave functionally as dependent elements that carry temporal semantic information; he names them ‘perspective form.’ There are five distinct categories in the perspective forms as outlined below:

1. *yio, maa*: future marker
2. $\emptyset$: non-future (past/present) marker
3. *ti*: completion
4. *m-, n-*: non-completion marker
5. *maa* : special habituality marker

His main argument is that, with regards to tense, a binary distinction between future and non-future is marked in Yoruba while in terms of aspect, there is a binary distinction between completed and non-completed. And the five forms ‘fall neatly into two grammatical categories: tense and aspect.’ (Arasanyin 1986:178)

One thing pointed out by Arasanyin is that Yoruba verbs have their own system of event structures and thus do not fit the observation proposed in Comrie’s theory about whether or not a verb is compatible with the progressive marker. This can be a criterion to select verbs of stative nature. He grouped all the verbs into five types. Some of the predicates obligatorily co-occur with the progressive marker, others are compatible or incompatible with the progressive marker. (Arasanyin 1986:281-313). The main argument Arasanyin makes is that some predicates in Yoruba have encoded the feature ‘continuity’ in their inner semantic structure and, as a result, are incompatible with the progressive marker. In Arasanyin’s thesis, he adapts Bamgboṣe’s theoretical framework.

Firstly, Arasanyin proposes that *maa* and *yio* are future markers. But he did not move on to explain the different use of these two perspective forms. Secondly, in his classification, *maa* is also a special habitual marker, but there is no further discussion about whether semantic contents associated to an identical perspective form would be related in terms of the way the language in question forms its TAM system. Thirdly, although he claims that the ‘zero perspective form’ encodes ‘non-future (present/past)’, the translations given in his thesis clearly show that there is a difference between present and past, but he fails to provide further explanations for such difference. Fourthly, Arasanyin claims that ‘*a*’ and ‘*n*’ are equivalents to each other, both representing a progressive/continuant meaning. However, although some of their uses overlap, there are certain situations wherein they convey different meanings, which will be addressed in the later discussions.

C. Anyanwu (2010)

In Anyanwu (2010) data focusing on TAM issues in four languages including Yoruba is presented. It is the first work aimed at exploring the TAM phenomena cross Benue-Congo languages, basing on fieldwork data. Part of the conclusions on Yoruba TAM marking in her work is presented below:

In the analysis, the TAM related terms and concepts from studies on Indo-European languages are taken for granted. In other words, her observation on Yoruba is ‘what it is if compared to Indo-European languages.’ Moreover, she proposes that there are four markers related to ‘Future Tense’: No. 7 ‘future,’ No. 8 ‘distant future, No. 9 ‘near future I, and No. 10 ‘near future II’.

No.	Form	Marker/formant	Taxis
1.	Progressive	Ñ	ń +verb
2.	Habitual	(maa) ń /á maa	(maa) ń /á maa +verb
3.	Iterative	Maa	maa +verb
4.	Inceptive	maa/bá-ń	bá-ń +verb
5.	Repetitive	Ñ	

6.	Perfect	Ti	ti +verb
7.	Future	Á	verb +á
8.	Distant future	(y)óò	(y)óò +verb
9.	Near future I	máa	(Comrie: máa +verb 'prospective aspect': 'point' meaning')
10.	Near future II	sì ti	sìti +verb
11.	Conditional I	Tí	tí +sentence
12.	Conditional II	Bá	bá +verb
13.	Subjunctive	Kó	kó +verb
14.	Subjunctive- mandative	Kí	kí +verb

Table 37.1: (3) TAM Markers in Yoruba (Anyanwu, 2010:84)

In a word, in the previous literature on TAM issues in Yoruba, there are two things to be directly related to the current discussion: (1) tense distinction is not clear defined; (2) there are three markers, á, *yió/ó* and *máa*, analyzed as 'future markers.'

In this paper, it is argued firstly that, Yoruba is a morphologically tense less language, and secondly, the so-called future markers in Yoruba are actually aspectual or modal markers. To support the first argument, she provides data with a focus on the fact that a simplex sentence without modality or aspect marking can be interpreted as carrying past or present tense under appropriate context. As for the second argument, detailed examination will be presented on the three so-called 'future markers' and we shall see significant interactions between modality and aspect in Yoruba.

3. Current observation on Yoruba TAM system

A. Yoruba as a morphologically tenseless language

The linguistic evidence supporting the argument that 'Yoruba is a morphologically tense less language' can be divided according to two observations: (1) in Yoruba, without specifying aspectual meaning, no functional word is needed for

describing factual events, regardless of whether it happened in the past or is still on-going at present. Even in cases where aspectual meaning is specified, the sentence can still be interpreted to be in the past as well as in present. (2) Modal markers associated with the semantic feature ‘possibility’ are all compatible with both future and past time reference.

For the first observation, four examples are provided, as seen below, to show that a complete simplex sentence (with no subordinate clauses) can be interpreted to bear past or present tense in proper context. In (4), we know *alántakùnníesè méjọ* ‘spiders have eight legs’ holds as universal fact. However, if they got a new pair of legs, we could use exactly the same sentence *alántakùnníesè méjọ* to say “spiders had eight legs,” exactly like (4).

(4) Chang forthcoming: 164, example 3.13

<i>alántakùn</i>	<i>ní</i>	<i>esè</i>	<i>méjọ</i>
spiders	have	leg	eight

‘Spiders had/have eight legs.’

(5)- (6) are two more examples of unmarked stative verbs. They can be employed to describe events in past or present tense, depending on the context. (5) is a dispositional description that is supposed to last for a longer time; in Anyanwu’s analysis, it should be interpreted as bearing present tense. That is true. However, if the person has changed and becomes a bad person, the sentence *èniyàndáa-dáani* ‘he is a good person’ can be interpreted as to bear past tense, as in (5). Such a ‘trick’ works for (6) as well. *óunjẹ-ẹ wà* is used for describing ‘there was food’ as well as ‘there is food.’

(5) Chang forthcoming: 165, example 3.14

<i>èniyàn</i>	<i>dáa-dáa</i>	<i>ni</i>
person	RED-good	COP

‘He was/is a good person.’

(6) Chang forthcoming: 165, example 3.15

<i>óunjẹ-ẹ</i>	<i>wà</i>
food-LNG	<u>exist</u>

‘There was/is food.’

One might point out that all three verbs in the examples above are stative. The same situation applies to dynamic verbs, as in (7). They usually occur in narrative discourse where the speaker does not have to specify any sense of tense, because the listeners will know the physical time when the event happens from the context.

(7) Chang forthcoming: 165, example 3.16

mo jí ní òwùrò kùtù; mo
 1S wake.up L morning early; 1S

Sìrìn lẹ sí ibi-iṣẹ mi

Then walk DIR office 1S

'I woke/wake up early and walked/walk to my office.'

'I woke/wake up early and walked/walk to my office.'

Now, the second part of the first observation, i.e. sentences with aspectual marking, will be presented. Before moving on to data set, we are going to introduce the aspectual markers in Yoruba.

Comrie indicates that usually, languages mark either perfectivity and leave the counterpart, imperfectivity, unmarked, or have it the other way round (Comrie 1976: 19). In Yoruba, the only unmarked form denotes the 'factual' reading of a proposition. Both imperfectivity and perfectivity are marked. Imperfective aspect markers are: (1) progressive *ń*, is primarily used to denote the progressive aspect, but sometimes to denote the continuant or habitual aspect as well, (2) the habitual *máa.ń*, which is specifically for marking non-progressive imperfective aspect, (3) *máa*, which is used in front-ward imperfectivity, and thus very often co-occur with future reference time, and (4) perfective *tí*.

Although aspectual marking might not concern tense distinctions, the aim of presenting data sets of aspectual-marked sentences is to show that 'even with aspectual marking, exactly the same sentence can be interpreted to bear present or past tense,' if found in proper context.

- (8) Chang forthcoming: 340

ó ńwúkó

3S PROG cough

'He was/is coughing.'

- (9) Chang forthcoming: 171, example 3.30

ní opínòsẹ̀, mo máa.ń kọ awọ̀n

L weekend, 1S HAB teach L

akẹ̀kọ̀ọ́ ní èdè Yorùbá

PL student L language Y.

- (10) Chang forthcoming: 341

ẹ̀gbọ̀n mi mò pé omi náà máa tútù

brother 1S know COM water the CON cold

'My brother knew/knows that the water
will/would be cold.'

- (11) Chang forthcoming: 177, example 3.51

mo tipàdé bàbá rẹ̀, (kí ó tó kú)

1S PERF meet father 2S, (COM 3S before die)

'I had/have met your father (before he died).'

Data to support the second observation that 'modal markers associated with the semantic feature 'possibility' are all compatible with both future and past time reference' are presented in (12)-(14). All the examples chosen are meant to show that the so-called future markers in Yoruba, e.g. *á* as in (13) and *yió* as in (14), can be found in the past tense as well. Notice that if we take off the past time adverbials or the reference time found in the context, all the three sentences will fit in present or future tense readings.

- (12) Anyanwu 2010, example 278

àwọ̀nọ̀mọ̀dé kò lẹ Jáde şeré l-ánàá

PL childrenNEG can go.outplay L-yesterday

'The children could not dare go out yesterday.'

- (13) Chang forthcoming: 199, example 3.131
- | | | | | | | | |
|--------|--------|------|------|----|-----|----|--------|
| ní | gbogbo | gbà | tí | ó | Bá | ba | sòrò, |
| L | every | time | COM | 3S | HYP | so | speak, |
| á | so | pé | rará | | | | |
| 3S.POS | say | COM | no | | | | |
- ‘Actually, every time he proposed, she would say no.

- (14) Chang forthcoming: 185, example 3.81
- | | | | | | | | | | |
|---------------|--------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|------------|------------|------------|-------------|--------------|
| <i>l-anòṣ</i> | <i>ẹgbọn</i> | <i>mi</i> | <i>sọ</i> | <i>Pé</i> | <i>omi</i> | <i>nàà</i> | <i>yíó</i> | <i>tútù</i> | <i>léníí</i> |
| L- | brother | 1S | say | COM | water | the | <u>CER</u> | cold | today |
| | yesterday | | | | | | | | |
- ‘Yesterday, my brother said that the water would be cold today.’

B. Modal words associated with future time reference

As discussed in the previous literature, there are three functional words that often co-occur with future time reference: (1) *máa*, (2) *a*, and (3) *ó*. At the current descriptive work, we define *máa* as a continuant marker, *á* a possibility marker, and *yíó/ó* a certainty marker.

In Anyanwu (2010), *máa*, *a*, and *ó* are named ‘near future I,’ ‘future,’ and ‘distant future’. In Bamgboṣe (1966), he suggests the latter two are both future tense markers as equivalents to ‘will’ in English, and *máa* encodes the meaning of *be going to*. In Arasayin (1986), *máa* is called a special habitual marker, whereas *á* and *ó* are both defined as future markers. For the three functional words to be analysed as future markers is possibly due to the fact that, to translate the simplex sentences (with no subordinate clauses) that contain any of them, the functional marker ‘will’ or *be going to* are always used, as in the following examples.

- (15) Chang forthcoming: 183, example 3.73

<i>emi</i>	<i>máa</i>	<i>lọ</i>
1S	MAA	go

“I will go.”

- (16) Chang forthcoming: 184, example 3.74

<i>ma-á</i>	<i>lọ</i>
1S A	go

“I will go.”

- (17) Chang forthcoming: 184, example 3.75

Emi Yio lo
 1S YIO go
 "I will go."

However, in the previous analyses, two crucial factors for identifying the nature of their function were ignored. Firstly, *á* and *ó* can co-occur with *má'* as in (18)-(19), but not with each other, as in (20). And, through data on modal markers in Yoruba, we know that modal markers co-occur with aspectual markers, they take the position that directly follows the subject, whereas the aspectual markers come after them. When *á* or *ó* co-occur with *máa* they remain in the position after the subject while '*máa*' takes the position next to them, which suggests *máa* may be an aspectual marker.

- (18) Chang forthcoming: 184, example 3.76

Yió Sì máa kọ létà l-ọwọ
 CER still CON write letter L-moment
 "He will still be writing letters."

- (19) Chang forthcoming: 184, example 3.77

Á Sì máa kọ létà lówọ
 3S.POS still CON write letter L-hand
 "He will still be writing letters."

- (20) Chang forthcoming: 184, example 3.78

**yió A kọ létà*
 *CER POS write letter
 * "He will write letters."

Secondly, *máa*, *á*, and *ó* are all compatible with past time reference, as in (21)-(23).

- (21) Chang forthcoming: 186, example 3.83

l-anọ́ọ ègbón mí mò pé omi
 L-yesterday brother 1S know COM water

náà máa tútù léníí
 the CON cold today

“Yesterday, my brother knew that the water would be cold today.”

(22) Chang forthcoming: 188, example 3.94

ní gbogbo gbà tí ó bá ba sọrọ,
L Every time COM 3S HYP so speak,

á So pé rára
3S.POS say COM no

“Actually, every time he proposed, she would say no.”

(23) Chang forthcoming: 342

l-anọ ẹgbọn mí sọ pé omi
L yesterday brother 1S say COM water

nàà yió tútù lénìí
the CER cold today

“Yesterday, my brother said that the water would be cold today.”

Although they occur with present or future reference in simplex sentences, they can occur with past tense reference in complex sentences. However, in the previous studies, data of complex sentences were not addressed in Bamgbose and Arasayin’s work; in Anyanwu’s analysis, since all of the three functional words are defined as future markers at the very beginning, the issue that they are actually compatible with past time reference was not mentioned.

Now, detailed examination will be presented on the three so-called ‘future markers’ in Yoruba. And we shall see that they are actually aspect or modal markers compatible with both past and future reference.

a. Continuant marker *máa*

máa encodes ‘forward-imperfectivity’ and is compatible with both future and past time reference, as in (24)-(25).

(24) Chang forthcoming: 186, example 3.82

Ó máa kọ lẹtà sí mí l-ano
3S CON write Letter to 1S tomorrow

“He will write a letter to me tomorrow.”

(25) Chang (forthcoming: 186, example 3.83)

l-anọ́ *ẹgbón* *Mi* *mò* *Pé* *omi*
 L yesterday brother 1S know COM water

náà *máa* *tútù* *lénì*
 the CON cold today

"Yesterday, my brother knew that the water would be cold today."

Chang forthcoming: 186, example 3.84

(26)

Yíó *Sì* *máa* *kọ* *lètà* *lọwọ*
 CER still CON write letter L-moment
 "He will still be writing letters."

It might look like a modal marker, meaning 'will,' if used in isolation as in (24). However, since it can co-occur with modal markers, as in (26), it cannot be a modal marker. The reason why it is called a 'future tense' marker is that people have ignored the structural evidence. Have a look at example (26)-(28). Although the habitual marker can be used in isolation, when it co-occurs with modal markers, as in (28), it is preceded by the modal marker. Such is the structural evidence to which we can relate our observation on the continuant marker "*máa*".

(27) Chang forthcoming: 186, example 3.85

ó *máa.ń* *kọ* *lètà* *lẹyin* *ounjẹ* *àárọ*
 3S HAB Write letter after food morning
 "After breakfast, he writes letters."

(28) Chang forthcoming: 343

ó *ti* *le* *máa.ń* *peja* *n-ígba* *míiràn*
 3S also able HAB Fish L-time sometime
 "He can even fish sometimes."

There is another case where the forward-imperfectivity that *máa* encodes can be recognized. Compare questions that seek permits with or without the continuant marker, as in (29)-(30). When *máa* co-occurs with a modal marker, the forward-imperfectivity encoded in the continuant marker leaves the emphasis on the motion itself, as in (29). Having the same

proposition represented in form of questions without the continuant marker, the emphasis falls on the permission, as in (30).

(29) Chang forthcoming: 187, example 3.87

ile ti N su, nje a le máa lolé
 ? PERF PROG late, Q 1P POS CON go.home
 "It's pretty late, shall we get going home?"

(30) Chang forthcoming: 187, example 3.88

ile ti N su, nje a Le lolé
 ? PERF PROG late, Q 1P Able go.home
 "It's pretty late, can we go home?"

There are two more uses of the continuant that are worth noticing here. Firstly, the continuant marker can co-occur with modal markers while the progressive marker cannot. An argument indicated by such comparison is that the continuant marker is used when a non-factual situation is described. As a result, we conclude that the imperfectivity that is encoded is further forward than the reference time given in the context. The progressive marker takes care of factual situations where the described event has taken place.

(31) Chang forthcoming: 187, example 3.89

ó gbúdò maa kọ létà
 3S MUST CON write Letter
 "He must be writing letters."

(32) Chang forthcoming: 187, example 3.90

ó gbúdò ń kọ létà
 3S MUST PROG write Letter
 "He must be writing letters."

Further examples to support the argument addressed above is the second special use of the continuant marker which occurs in imperative sentences as in the following examples, whereas the progressive marker does not. It confirms our argument that, the continuant marker is used in non-factual situations, where

the event in the proposition is not on-going at the reference time, but is following the reference time.

(33) Chang forthcoming: 188, example 3.92

ẹ máa retí mi l-áàárọ̀

2S HAB expect 1S L-morning

“Expect me sometimes in the morning.”

b. Possibility marker á

The possibility marker denotes a normal level of sureness when the speaker has a proposition marked by it in his or her mind. It is compatible with both future and past time reference, as in (34)-(35).

(34) Chang forthcoming: 344

n-ígba tí mo bá dáàgbà, ma-á

L-time REL 1S HYP grow, 1S-POS

ra ilé nlá

buy house big

“When I grow old, I will buy a big house.”

(35) Chang forthcoming: 188, example 3.94

Ní gbogbo gbà tí ó bá ba sọ̀rọ̀,

L every time COM 3S HYP so speak,

á so pé rára

3S.POS say COM no

“Actually, every time he proposed, she would say no.”

Generally, the possibility marker *á* helps with arranging the sequence of events in a complex sentence. For example,

(36) Chang forthcoming: 345

bí ebí ba ń pa ológbò mi, a

hunger PROG kill cat 1S, 3S. POS

máa ké míaun

CON make meow

“When cats are hungry, they will meow.”

(37) Chang forthcoming: 189, example 3.96

Bí o(ko) bá siwo látí máa fí bóòlù yíi şeré,

If 2S HYP Stop INF CON use ball this play,

ma-á gba lówọ̀ rẹ̀

1S.POS game L-hand 2S

“If you don’t stop playing with that ball, I will take it away.”

Another major function of the possibility marker is for forming a hypothetical statement, as in (38)-(39).

(38) Chang forthcoming: 189, example 3.99

bí ó bá ri owó náà gba, á ra nkán
 If 3S HYP see money the get, 3S buy something
omobìrin yǐi
 girl this
 “Should/perhaps he receives the money must/should/will
 buy a gift.”

(39) Chang forthcoming: 189, example 3.100

bí/tí o bá kó okútá sínú àpò yǐi,
 If 2S HYP put stone inside bag this,
á já
 3S.POS break
 “If you put a stone into this bag, it breaks.”

3.2.3. Certainty marker ‘yio’

The certainty marker is compatible with both future and past time reference, as in (40)-(41).

(40) Chang forthcoming: 190, example 3.101

e	má	şegbin.oju	àti	wẹ	nó-òdò yǐi
lọla,	torí				
2S	NIM	try to	swim	L-river	this
tomorrow,		because			
pé	omi	náà yíó	tútù		
COM	water	the	CER	cold	

“It’s no use trying to swim in the lake tomorrow, because the water will be cold.”

(41) Chang forthcoming: 190, example 3.102

Tí	ó	bá	pàdà	ba	sòrò,	yió	so
If	3S	HYP	refuse	so	speak	CER	say
pé	rará	náà	Ni				
COM	no	the	L				

“If he proposed again, she would refuse.”

(I don’t know whether he proposed again recently.)

The certainty marker is to some extent interchangeable with the possibility marker. However, the possibility marker shows that the speaker holds a standard level of sureness of the described event. If the certainty marker is chosen, it gives a hint about the speaker holding the prediction of high-level sureness, possibly due to further circumstantial evidence.

(42) Chang forthcoming: 190, example 3.103

bí	omokonrín	yí	ba	ri	Owó	náà
gba,	yió ra					
if	boy	this	HYP	see	Money the	get,
					3S.CER	
nkán	fún	omobìrin	yí			
buy	something	girl	this			

“When the boy gets the money, he will (certainly) buy a gift for the girl.”

(43) Chang forthcoming: 190, example 3.104

bí	omokonrín	yí	ba	ri	Owó	náà
gba,	á ra					
if	boy	this	HYP	see	Money the	get,
					3S.POS	
nkán	Fún	omobìrin	yí			
buy	something	girl	this			

“When the boy gets the money, he will (probably) buy a gift for the girl.”

Two further supporting points are to be discussed below. Firstly, compare the way listeners interpret simplex sentences (i.e. the reference time being the speech time) marked by the possibility marker and the certainty marker, using sentences of

the same proposition. (44)-(45) are about predictions of if the rain is coming. The listeners will interpret (44) as meaning “the rain might come”. As for (45), the listeners will get the information that “the rain will (surely) come.”

- (44) Chang forthcoming: 191, example 3.105

òjò á rọ
rain POS Fall
“It’s going to rain.”
“It will/would/might rain.”

- (45) Chang forthcoming: 191, example 3.106

òjò ó rọ
rain CER Fall
“It’s going to rain.”

Secondly, in polite requests, the possibility marker is used, as in (46), but the certainty marker cannot be used, as shown in (47). This is presumably because the semantic element of certainty conflicts with the uncertainty of requests.

- (46) Anyanwu 2010, example 252

jọ́ọ́, sẹ wà á sí ilẹ̀ kùn
please Q 2S POS then open door
“Would you please open the door?”

- (47) Anyanwu 2010, example 252

**jọ́ọ́, sẹ eyin o sí ilẹ̀ kùn*
*please Q 2S CER then open door
*“Would you please open the door?”

4. Conclusion

The first argument was well supported by data presented in the first part of this paper. In Yoruba, factual sentences, with or without aspectual markers, if found in appropriate contexts, can be interpreted to bear past or present tense, whereas non-factual sentences, i.e. sentences with modal marking, again, if found in appropriate context, can be interpreted to bear past or future tense. In a word, tense distinctions are not realized in the morpho-syntactic level, and thus Yoruba is morphologically

tense less. The second argument was proven alongside data presented in the second part of this paper. (1) *máa* is a continuant marker to mark forward-imperfectivity. (2) *á* is a possibility marker to mark a normal level of sureness of a proposition. (3) *yíó/ó* is a certainty marker used when speakers stress out a high level of sureness of proposition they hold. Also, with tense marking not concerned, there are significant interactions between modality and aspect in Yoruba.

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The sentence final particles *wé* and *tǎ́* in Ikwere

Sylvester N. OSU, Université François Rabelais Tours

1. Introduction

Among the wide class of familiar discourse markers¹ found in many languages of the world, a subset of less familiar particles² which mainly (but not exclusively) occurs in the sentence final position is found in some languages including Ikwere, an Igboïd language of the Benue-Congo branch. They are referred to as sentence final particles. Sentence final particles have also clearly been identified in other Nigerian languages including Igbo (Williamson 1972; Echeruo 1998); Kana (Ikoro 1996: 247); and the Nigerian Pidgin English (Faraclas 1996: 116, 209 and 283).³

Consistent with their traditional label as discourse markers, sentence final particles seem to express a wide range of meanings both within a given language and across languages. According to Williamson (1972), the particle <o> in Igbo for instance, is used when speaking to someone at a distance; it is also used as a sign of affirmation, or as assent to a salutation. In Kana, these particles may conclude a story, provide the reason for an action, express a speaker's emotions (e.g. total disappointment, deep anger, complete frustration) or indicate an obligation (Ikoro 1996: 247-248). And in the Nigerian Pidgin English, the sentence final particle <o> adds the meaning of empathy, solidarity and realis modality to the assertion (Faraclas 1996: 116).

2. Aim

This article focuses on two sentence final particles *wé* and *tǎ́* in Ikwere. There are two reasons for that: The first is that though Ikwere has several sentence final particles as illustrated in examples (1) to (6) below, *wé* and *tǎ́* are among the most

common ones encountered in everyday language. The second reason is that so far, I have been able to carry out proper investigation on these two particles alone.

This article is an attempt to give a precise account of the specific part each of the two particles plays in sentences and in the construction of the meaning of such sentences, and to work out the invariant meaning element of each of them.

To achieve this aim, I consider their distribution. I also take into account, where necessary, the syntactic, semantic and pragmatic constraints surrounding their use in a given situation. I further consider the way they interact with other elements in sentences in which they occur and check the semantic effects they bring about or the impact their deletion and replacement may have on the well-formedness of sentences. In other words, the way each particle operates in everyday speech is examined in detail and characterized. It is hoped that this work will contribute to a better understanding of discourse markers.

The exact number of sentence final particles (henceforth SFP) in Ikwere remains as yet unknown. However, the most common ones include *wé*, *tá*, *ó*, *ʔ*, *kó* and *nú* as illustrated below.⁴

- [A cry of pain]
- (1) *m̩* *wǔ-n̩m* *wé*
 1SG die-PFT ASS SFP⁵
 I am dead (I'm finished).
- (2) *ì* *wǔ-né* *máyâ* *tá*
 2SG drink-PFT NON ASS wine SFP
 By the way, have you had some drink?
- (3) *m̩* *zé-n̩m* *ó*
 1SG go-PFT ASS AGR SFP
 I'm gone.
- (4) *sík^{wǔ}* *cíkè* *ʔ*
 to call.INJ Chike SFP
 Call Chike (for me) [The speaker is not happy at all].

(5) jé kó
 2SG.EMPH SFP
 What about you? (Won't you eat?)

(6) kwùrú á nù
 carry someone.INJ 3SGO SFP
 Carry him please.

3. Theoretical background

This article is realized using the theory of linguistic markers within the framework of enunciative and predicative operations, often referred to as TOPE (French: *Théorie des Opérations Prédicatives et Enonciatives*), elaborated by Antoine Culioli and his research associates (Culioli 1990, 1995, 1999a&b; see also Groussier 2000; Osu 2003a, 2005).

The basic assumption is that there is a finite series of cognitive processes underlying language activity. These processes, called linguistic operations, are represented by words in individual languages. And for that reason words, including the sentence final particles under study, are termed as markers of operations. However, several units can represent the same operation just as one single unit can represent several operations. Therefore, there is no one-to-one relationship between markers and operations. Each marker has its own way of marking a specific operation or operations. And each marker has an invariant property that is flexible enough to enable it to behave the way it does. In this view, the specific role a marker plays while interacting with other markers in the construction of meanings is equivalent to its invariant property.

Within Culioli's theoretic model, a *notion* is a hybrid entity that provides extra linguistic materials which linguistic units are made from. Roughly speaking, a notion is like a mental image, our representation of reality. It is regarded as a complex bundle of physico-cultural properties that has no fixed boundary, meaning that with additional properties the boundary can always be extended. In fact, notions are characterized by two things, namely ramification as a result of inter-notional relationships created by the user (e.g., sheep and dog as opposed to sheep and lion); and abundance as physical, cultural and anthropological properties interrelate in such a

way as to refer to a multiplicity of potentialities (see Culioli 1995: 44).

These notional properties are filtered with the help of a certain number of primitive operations that underlie language activity. One such operation is quantifiabilization (also referred to as fragmentation or individuation). It is a complex operation of determination that can be broken down into two components i.e., quantification and qualification. The operation of quantification consists of extracting and singling out an occurrence of a given notion and locating such an occurrence with reference to spatio-temporal parameters (enunciator and time of enunciation) of the referential space while the operation of qualification differentiates the extracted occurrence from all other related occurrences.

The result of the operation of quantifiabilization is that a notional domain is constructed. Therefore, a notional domain is an occurrence of a notion. Lexical items, grammatical units and predicative relations (or grammatical sentences) are obtained by filtering notions. For example, with the notion 'being a dog' or 'being red' one can construct a notional domain 'dog' or 'red'; similarly, from the notion of aspect, one can construct aspectual categories; and finally from a complex notion of the type 'lion, trap, escape' one can construct a complex notional domain or predicative relation <lion-escape trap> which utterances can be made from.

It must be underlined that notions are only perceived through words, and that there is no one-to-one relationship between notions and words; a word, a lexical unit, a morpheme or a predicative relation does not equate with a notion, it is all a matter of representation, a matter of regulation in the sense that a lexical unit embodies only some properties of the notion but never all of them.

It should then be clear that words are very complex entities. They are a means of representing cognitive activity, real entities, events and states of affairs and at the same time, they are traces of linguistic operations.

A notional domain is organized into three different zones that are intrinsically related. These are, the Interior zone which represents the notional domain by default; the Exterior zone which is the linguistic complement of the Interior; and finally, the Boundary, which is neither the Interior nor the Exterior but

compatible with the Interior and the Exterior. Thus the notional domain is inherently composed of two equiponderant values (p and p'). Since p is by definition different from p' , the relation between both is characterized as that of alterity (or otherness).

The Interior zone contains a class of occurrences which identify with one another and at the same time differ from each other. The Interior zone also contains an abstract representative occurrence that serves both as its organizing centre (or prototype) and as its attracting centre. The organizing centre enables one to discern what occurrences do or do not belong to the class associated with the domain. It can be likened to the Platonic archetype. The attracting centre enables one to state that something is identifiable with the representative occurrence to a lesser and lesser degree. And it can be likened this time to the prototype in prototype semantics (see in particular Rosch 1978; Lakoff 1987; Kleiber 1990; Geeraerts 1994). The Interior zone represents the notional domain and therefore is associated with a positive value, conventionally noted p while the Exterior zone is associated with the negative value and is noted p' .

The Boundary, also noted p' , is assimilated a priori to the Exterior zone. However, it entertains relations which can be qualified as simple difference with the Interior zone. The Exterior zone is regarded as being totally different from the Interior zone. The Exterior zone has therefore nothing to do at all with the Interior zone. For example, if we use the word 'dog' to refer to a notional domain, then anything that has nothing in common with the prototypical representation of 'dog' will belong to the Exterior zone, while a hybrid wolf-dog for instance will be viewed as belonging to the Boundary.

The article is divided into two unequal parts. This can be accounted for by the fact that the SFP *wé* is more frequent than the SFP *tấ*. The first part deals with the SFP *wé*. It is argued that this particle marks the operation of asserting.⁶ But given that there can be different ways of asserting, I underline what kind of assertion the SFP *wé* brings into play. The second part discusses the SFP *tấ*. I show that it only occurs in questions. I also show that it is used where the need arises to call into question something initially introduced.

4. The sentence final particle *wé*

As earlier mentioned, the SFP *wé* marks assertion. The technical term assertion/asserting here means that the speaker, in his capacity as enunciator, noted S_0 ,⁷ takes responsibility no matter how little, for the validity of a complex notional domain, in other words, a predicative relation written X-P (where X stands for subject and P for process) in such a way that any other predicative relation (X-Q, X-Q', X-P', Y-Q, Y-Q', Y-P, Y-P', etc.) is automatically excluded. In fact, the operation of asserting implies two complementary processes. First, S_0 (or asserter) indicates that something is the case. Thus, S_0 locates an occurrence of a predicative relation yet unidentified, relative to a referential system also called situation of enunciation (noted Sit_0). Second, S_0 constructs an occurrence of a specific predicative relation with two constituent values (recall that p stands for the positive, and p' for the negative). The choice of one value invalidates (rules out) the other. (See in particular Culioli 2002: 280). Culioli further writes:

“To be able to assert, to produce an assertion, I must declare it publicly: an interior assertion is not an assertion; but there also needs be the commitment of someone who takes responsibility, who guarantees your statement or who wishes to assert something despite your position. If it is simply an instance of locution, you do not really have assertion. For there to be responsibility, one must guarantee what one states.” (1995: 92).

In some cases the focus of the assertion or the asserted element is the relationship between the speaker and what he says. Put differently, the focus of assertion is the very act of saying something.

In some other cases the focus of assertion is what the speaker says, otherwise called speech content.

But we can also imagine situations where the object of assertion is the speaker on one hand and what he says on the other. In this case the speaker and what he says are asserted separately, and indicated each time by a different marker.

Alternatively, we can think of situations where none of them is the object of assertion, meaning that there is no assertion at all. See questions and injunctive constructions for example.

4.1 Different uses of the SFP *wé* and analysis

The SFP *wé* occurs in affirmative, negative and injunctive sentences. It also occurs in questions. I examine each sentence type in turn.

4.1.1 Affirmative sentences

Affirmative sentences are a means by which a speaker positively evaluates events, states of affairs, processes or predicative relations. The speaker considers that a given state of affairs represented by a predicative relation is *certain* in the sense that its locating relative to time and space is conform to what he expects. Put differently, the speaker states with an affirmative sentence that a state of affairs *is the case*. Thus if he says ‘it is raining’, he means that <it is raining> is the case. Now consider (7)-(9):

- (7) * *m̃ wǔ-nêm*
 1SG die-PFT ASS
 *I am dead.

- (8) *m̃ wǔ-nêm tâ*
 1SG die-PFT ASS today
 I am dead (finished) today.

- (9) [A cry of pain]
m̃ wǔ-nêm wé
 1SG die-PFT ASS SFP
 I am dead (finished) and I mean it.

A sentence like (7) **m̃ wǔ-nêm* ‘I’m dead’ is not well formed. As a native speaker of Ikwere, one has the impression that it is not a complete sentence, it is not stabilized. But if I add *tâ* ‘today’ which makes it *m̃ wǔ-nêm tâ* ‘I’m finished/dead today’, it becomes stabilized and natural as given in (8). This kind of sentence is produced by someone who has committed an

offence and is afraid of the punishment due to him or her. So, (8) can be interpreted as follows: "I foresee a punishment so severe that at the end of it, I will have died".

But though the speaker states that the predicative relation <I-be dead>, rewritten X-P, is the case, there is no evidence that he will actually be punished (or dead to use the speaker's metaphor).

Further, if in place of *m̃* 'I', we use the third person singular *đ* as in *đ wố-nêm* 'S/he is dead' for instance, we obtain a sentence that is equally natural. With *đ wố-nêm* 'S/he is dead', the speaker tends to answer the question whether or not a certain person is still alive. The question can be implicit or explicit depending on the context.

We can therefore deduce that the unnaturalness of (7) **m̃ wố-nêm* 'I am dead' is due to the fact that one cannot be dead and talk at the same time, at least to our common knowledge. In both *m̃ wố-nêm tấ* 'I'm finished/dead today' and *đ wố-nêm* 'S/he is dead' the speaker states that the relation X-P is the case. This is a way of asserting the validity of X-P.

Now, if we replace *tấ* 'today' with the SFP *wé* as in (9), the sentence is still valid but takes an additional meaning: It is as if the speaker is emphasizing what he says. What specific part does the SFP *wé* play in the construction of this meaning and how does it do that?

First, we find that (9) *m̃ wố-nêm vé* 'I am dead (finished) and I mean it' also typically occurs in a situation where someone is being severely punished. Apart from stabilizing the sentence and rendering it natural, the SFP *wé* further indicates that there is a shift of the focus of assertion. Thus, instead of the relation X-P the focus is on the act of saying X-P. In other words, this time, the enunciator takes responsibility not for the validity of X-P, but for the very act of saying/producing X-P. And to guarantee his own act of saying something is tantamount to committing himself twice (first for X-P and second for his act of saying). Hence the impression that the speaker emphasizes what he is saying.

But then, why must the speaker want to assert his own act of saying? Is there anything in the situational context that urges him to do that?

In the situation at hand the speaker in (9) tends to say that he is/will be dead. That alone is enough to breed doubts

because as I pointed out earlier, a dead person does not talk to our hearing. The speaker's doubts mean that there are two alternative values (p and p') related to two inter-subjective positions, the enunciator's position and the co-enunciator's position. Thus, from the point of view of the enunciator (noted S₀), p <I-be dead> is the case. But from the point of view of the co-enunciator (noted S'₀), p' <I-not be dead> is the case.

Put differently, there is a relation of alterity (or otherness)⁸ between the point of view of S₀ and the point of view of S'₀. With the SFP *wé* the point of view of S₀ is presented as the valid one against that of S'₀ i.e., against any other point of view (real or imaginary), and against all odds. Example (10) reveals similar features.

(10) [A cry of pain]

ścí *m* *wé*

 leg 1SGO SFP

 My leg is paining (me) severely.

Ikwere has several ways of expressing the fact that one is feeling pains. For instance, to explain why you don't want to walk around, you can say *ścí nògbúm ígbúgbú* 'I have leg pains (literally, leg is paining me)'. You can equally say, *éyím ścí kwékôm mólǎ òlòlò* 'my dear, my leg(s) do(es)n't let me make any move', etc. Note the use of the reduplicative verb form ... *mólǎ òlòlò* here. This form implies that the speaker cannot realize what he refers to as *òlòlò* 'the act of shaking one's body' or 'moving one's body' in any way at all. In fact, in some earlier publications (Osu 2008, 2010), I have shown that reduplicative forms generally indicate that an occurrence of a given notional domain is identified relative to the representative occurrence of the domain, with the result that alterity which originally characterizes the domain is eliminated. This domain is therefore said to be a centred domain in the sense that it fully identifies with p, the representative occurrence. Thus, the reduplicative form implies that there is p and just p, meaning that there is no room for anything outside the domain in question or again, nothing outside p.

The sequence *ścí m wé* in (10) contains no verb. We can assume that the verb is simply elliptical and that the situation in which the sentence is produced can help identify or

reintroduce it like this: *ǎcí m̃ h̃wùlēm wé* ‘my leg has disappeared’; *ǎcí gbàjíménēm mé wé* ‘my leg has broken’.

Assuming the speaker says *ǎcí m̃* that is, in the absence of the SFP *wé*, assuming also that it is used as the short form for *ǎcí m̃ h̃wùlēm* ‘my leg has disappeared’, he would simply be stating that the p value of the predicative relation <my leg-disappear> is the case. Consequently, the p' value is presented as ‘not being the case’. We find that in the absence of *wé* the focus is on the predicative relation (i.e. what the speaker says, the content) and not on the act of saying. We must not forget however that the sequence **ǎcí m̃* is not very natural in the language.

The use of the SFP *wé* in (10) is linked to the fact that from the speaker’s own perception of things, his cry of pain (i.e., what he is saying) is not being taken seriously by someone, real or imaginary. He is then led to oppose two inter-subjective positions, introducing alterity. Thus, according to him, from the point of view of someone else (represented as S'o), perhaps due to the fact that the person is simply not aware of the speaker’s condition, the speaker’s cry of pain is not serious whereas from the speaker’s own point of view (represented as S₀), his cry of pain is serious. The use of the SFP *wé* is intended to call the attention of the person to the speaker’s cries, phrased like this: “you don’t seem to pay attention to my cries, otherwise you will realize that I have serious pains”. Thus, from the alternative point of view, the p' value (i.e., anything other than the act of crying) is valid. But from the point of view of S₀ the p value (i.e., the act of crying) is valid. This is how the focus of assertion shifts from pains to the very act of crying such that any other imaginable act, any alternative point of view introduced is disqualified, and alterity eliminated. The pragmatic effect of this sentence is that the speaker’s leg pains can be interpreted as serious pains and therefore, considered for emergency treatment. Let us consider (11) and (11a) below:

- (11) *cíkè byá-lé m̃ lá-lēm wé*
 Chike come-PFT NON ASS 1SG return.CTF-PFT ASS AGR SFP
 If Chike comes, I will go away and I mean it.

- (11a) *cíkè byá-lé m̃ lá-lēm*
 Chike come-PFT NON ASS 1SG return.CTF-PFT ASS AGR

If Chike comes, I will go away.

If we delete the SFP *wé* in (11), we have a valid inter-clausal sentence, as illustrated in (11a), in which the speaker states that the relation introduced by the subordinate clause *m̃ lá-lêm* 'I will go away' is the result of the relation introduced by the main clause *cíkè byá-lé* 'If Chike comes'. This kind of relation (11a) does not warrant the additional comment 'and I mean it'.

Indeed, the use of the SFP *wé* in (11) creates the impression that the speaker emphasizes X-P i.e., the fact that he will go away should there be Y-Q i.e. Chike come. In so doing, the speaker seeks to avoid Y-Q.

The discussion so far shows that this impression is quite consistent with the way the SFP *wé* operates in the language. It comes from the fact that the speaker urges the addressee to listen carefully to what he is saying and take it seriously.

By urging the addressee, the speaker in his capacity as enunciator, asserts his very act of saying what he is saying. In point of fact, the SFP *wé* is used here to insist on the possibility of having X-P as the direct effect of Y-Q (Chike-come) like this: If Y-Q takes place then X-P will unfailingly take place.

As we have already seen, the process of asserting his very act of saying implies taking into account two alternative views in relation to a given state of affairs i.e., whether or not the speaker means it when he says X-P <I will go away>. From an alternative point of view (represented as S'₀), as perceived by the speaker himself, the latter may not be serious when he says that X-P is the case. Therefore S₀ assigns to S'₀ the responsibility of the p' value (which here implies that it is possible that the p value associated with X-P is not the case). But from the point of view of S₀ the speaker is serious when he says that X-P is the case. Therefore S₀ guarantees p to the detriment of p'.

The discussion so far reveals that this marker consistently occurs in affirmative sentences where the speaker senses that what he says is not taken seriously by another person, real or imaginary. His act of saying something is therefore called into question whether explicitly (ex.11) or implicitly (ex. 9). Calling something into question is analysed here as two different ways of perceiving or representing a predicative relation or state of affairs as illustrated by the following interpretation:

“Based on the fact that you are entitled to have a perception of things that is different from mine, you may want to think that another act of saying is possible i.e., that I could say something else or use some other words instead. But given the circumstances surrounding the realization of the process P (e.g. to go away; to pain) by the subject X (e.g. I; leg), I maintain my act of saying”.

Faced with two inter-subjective positions, S_0 indicates that his position is the right one, and therefore selects the p value. Consequently, p' is not validated. In sum, the speaker indicates publicly that what he says is conform to what he wants to say; he guarantees or takes responsibility for his act of saying. Here again, we find that the SFP *wé* marks the assertion of the speaker’s act of saying.

4.1.2 Negative sentences

Negative sentences also imply that a predicative relation or a state of affairs is certain. The speaker states that the predicative relation which he introduces using a negative sentence is the case. Thus, if he says “John has not killed a lion”, he means that <John has not killed a lion> is the case. Similarly, if he says “It is not raining”, he means that <It is not raining> is the case. The speaker uses such sentences in order to negatively evaluate something. Consequently, in a given domain of reference with two constituent values p and p' , the negative indicates that p' is the case, or again, that ‘ p is not the case’ is the case.

Examples (12) and (13) contain a reduplicative verb form. This form implies that p is a centred value and for that reason, there is no room for p' .

- (12) ósì ékwà lâ àlà
 Osi act of protecting someone return.CTF.F.T. NEG REDUP
 Osi, the act of protecting a friend has no end (or the act of
 protecting friends should never leave you).

In (12) the reduplicated verb is *àlà* ‘to go away’. Here is the context in which we find this example: Osi is not happy with his friend who has failed to show any sign of gratitude after granting him protection. Therefore, Osi wants to know if he

Recall that the notional domain is inherently composed of two equal weighted values (p and p') and that p is by definition different from p'. If we use X to represent *ékwa* 'the act of protecting someone' and P for *àlà* 'to go away', we can then say that X is located at the very centre of the Interior zone of P. If we combine all that with negation, we obtain the opposite i.e., X is located at the very centre of the Exterior zone of P, noted X-p'.

(13) ósí ékwà lâ àlà wé
Osi act of protecting someone return.CTF.F.T. NEG REDUP SFP
Osi, the act of protecting a friend has no end (or the act of
protecting friends should never leave you).

We have two alternative points of view with S_0 taking responsibility for p' (i.e. his act of saying that $X-P'$ is the case) while assigning the responsibility of p (i.e., any other possible act of saying e.g. that $X-P$ is the case) to S'_0 . The whole process amounts to validating p' and not validating p . It should be noted here that p' is the right value from the enunciator's point of view because of the negative construction.

- (14) yá gbú-lê à
 3SG.EMPH.EXCL to kill-PFT NON ASS F.T. NEG 3SGO
He⁹ didn't kill it or It is not him who killed it.

After Osi has come back from the bush with a Grass-cutter he claims to have killed, Chima tries to find out whether or not Osi is the one who killed it. With the negative construction, the speaker states that Osi is not the one who killed it. Thus, whereas Osi in his capacity as co-enunciator asserts the predicative relation X-P (i.e. Osi-kill Grass-cutter) and validates the p value of the domain in question, the speaker in his own capacity as enunciator asserts the relation X-P' (i.e. Osi-not kill Grass-cutter) and therefore validates p' or put differently, invalidates p.

- (15) yá gbú-lê à wé
 3SG.EMPH.EXCL to kill-PFT NON ASS F.T. NEG 3SGO SFP
He didn't kill it or It is not him who killed it. (I tell you).

The SFP *wé* occurs in (15) because the speaker senses that despite his answer, Chima does not totally believe him, meaning that Chima still has doubts as to whether or not Osi is the one who killed the Grass-cutter. So when the speaker uses the marker *wé*, he doesn't mean to focus on whether Osi did kill the Grass-cutter or not, but to make Chima believe what he said. Thus, Chima's doubts imply that there is an alternative choice to the speaker's act of saying.

And the consequence is that the p value is brought forward, where p stands for the act of saying anything other than that it is not Osi who killed the Grass-cutter. The additional comment "I tell you" renders the idea that the speaker maintains what he earlier said. Therefore, the asserted value is p'.

The use of the SFP *wé* in negative sentences requires situations where the negative value of a given predicative relation is introduced by the speaker. This act of introducing the negative value is then called into question. With *wé* the speaker signifies that he maintains what he says. In other words, the speaker in his capacity as enunciator takes responsibility for what he says irrespective of whether or not what he says contains the negative value. In so doing, he

validates p' (what he says) and consequently, p (what he does not say or what someone else might say) is invalidated.

4.1.3 Interrogative sentences

Questions generally introduce a predicative relation while indicating that the speaker is not in a position to determine which of the two constituent values of the domain represented by this relation is valid. He therefore calls on someone else to select a value.

The SFP *wé* only occurs in questions used for greetings.¹⁰ It is very important to underline the tautological nature of such questions since they are asked in order to find out whether the subject of the process is doing something which he is already doing. However, unlike rhetorical questions which do not require answers, greetings in the form of questions must receive a response otherwise the social norm will be broken. Consider (16) for instance.

[The speaker passes by people sitting down. If he fears they might not answer his greetings, he greets them saying:]

- (16) ànù z-ám wé
2PL to be-confirmation SFP
You are there?

In (16) the element *-àṁ* in the verb *zàṁ* (a contracted form for *ziàṁ*) ‘be located in time and space’ is used in order to confirm something. And it can occur with or without the SFP *wé*. Whenever it combines with the question as in (16), we obtain a sentence that can be phrased as follows: “While you comply with the custom which holds that one must answer greetings, could you confirm that you are located in time and space?”

I interpret the speaker's fear in this example as meaning that the addressee calls his greeting into question. In that case, the SFP *wé* indicates that the enunciator asserts the act of greeting (recall that his greeting consists of asking the addressee to confirm that he (the addressee) is actually located in time and space. Therefore, any alternative act (e.g. not greeting them the way he did) is excluded.

But if, for instance, his act of greeting is not called into question then the use of the SFP *wé* will be uncalled for.

Let us further compare (17) and (18) below:

- [The speaker greets someone returning from the market:]
- (17) *ì yá-lé*
 2PL return.CTP-PFT NON ASS
 You have returned?
- (18) *ì yá-lé wé*
 2PL return-PFT NON ASS SFP
 You have returned? (I'm greeting you.)

And let us take a typical situation where someone returning from the market is drenched in rain. If the speaker greets the person without using the SFP *wé*, as in (17), it will be understood that he does not mean to show any concern about the state which the person is in. In other words, the speaker simply greets the person no more, no less.

Alternatively, if he uses the SFP *wé* as in (18), he means to show concern or to sympathize with the person. The question is: How does this particle enable him to achieve that?

My analysis is that the speaker assumes that for one reason or another, the addressee may not pay attention to or hear his greetings and therefore respond accordingly. Such an assumption is a way of introducing a different perception of his act of greeting, phrased like this:

“To me, you are in such a state I’m afraid you may not pay attention to my act of greeting you, and therefore, you may not reciprocate my greeting. So I am asking you to pay attention and respond accordingly”.

This phrasing brings forward the fact that the speaker takes the addressee’s condition into account. Hence the meaning of “sympathy” or “concern” as previously mentioned. Here again, we have two alternative viewpoints: the point of view of *S₀* (the speaker’s greeting is not just an ordinary one, it is intended to show you that he feels concerned about your condition) and the point of view of *S’₀* (the speaker’s greeting may be an ordinary one). Under this condition, the enunciator guarantees the

speaker's position (i.e., the act of seriously greeting the addressee), and therefore, invalidates any other position.

In this kind of use, the speaker introduces X-P e.g. (in 16) <you-be located in time and space>; and (in 17) <you-return from the market>. With the question, marked here by a combination of the non-assertive form of the verb, tone inclusive, and the intonation, he states that he is not in a position to say which of the two constituent values of the notional domain represented by X-P is the right value and therefore asks the addressee to select and validate one of the two values.

Further, we have seen that the circumstances surrounding X-P are such that the speaker's greeting is likely to be called into question. He is led to indicate publicly that in his capacity as enunciator he takes responsibility for his act of greeting the addressee. Consequently, any other conceivable act of saying, any other position in relation to his act is excluded. In sum, the SFP *wé* indicates that the enunciator takes charge of the speaker's act of greeting.

Note that the answer to his greeting in (17) can be *òwé* 'yes' or in (16) and (18) *òwé wé* 'yes of course'. With the 'yes' answer, the addressee simply confirms the state he is in, therefore validating p and stabilizing X-P. But with 'yes of course', he not only confirms the state he is in but also validates p stabilizing X-P and confirms his act of greeting.

4.1.4 Injunctive sentences

The speaker uses injunctive sentences to introduce an event or a process so that it is realized by someone else. Or to put it in Culioli's words:

In an assertion one states that a certain situation is or is not; in the injunctive one says: 'may a certain situation be or not be'. [...]. Injunctive constructions range from orders to pleas including even wishes as well as requests and suggestions. [...]. Roughly speaking, an order is: A says to B: 'whether you like it or not, do a certain thing'. In the request, one is more polite, one says 'one hopes that you like it'; in the suggestion 'do

you like what I like'; in the plea 'I, myself, like [it], I hope you like [it], but the wish does not necessarily address itself to one person, as does the plea. It can be addressed to fate, to a divinity, or to all and sundry (Culioli 1995: 116).

Put differently, in his capacity as enunciator the speaker presents the p value of the domain represented by X-P as the right one and refers its validation to S'0. Therefore, unless S'0 validates p, the alternative value cannot be eliminated.

We can summarize the process involved in injunctive sentences as follows: From the point of view of S_0 , p is the right value, but from the point of view of S'_0 , p and p' are both possible values; so until he validates one value or the other (for example, p where the addressee chooses to effectively realize the process or p' if he chooses not to realize the process) they remain equiponderant, meaning that none of them is privileged by S_0 , or again, both possibilities co-exist.

In a situation where a child has been showing signs that he wants his brother to carry him in his arms and the latter has refused, a neighbour can intervene with either (19) or (20).

- | | | | |
|------|----------------------------|------|-----|
| (19) | kwù-rú | á | |
| | carry someone-DAT.INJ | 3SGO | |
| | Carry him. | | |
| | | | |
| (20) | kwù-rú | á | wé |
| | carry someone-DAT.INJ | 3SGO | SFP |
| | Carry him, yes you should. | | |
| | | | |
| (21) | kwù-rú | á | nú |
| | carry someone-DAT.INJ | 3SGO | SFP |
| | Carry him please. | | |

In the absence of any SFP as in (19), the sentence is just a simple request. It can also be a command. But should the neighbour use (20), he will create the impression that he is confirming his request or command irrespective of whether he is explicitly making such a request for the first time or not. How is that possible?

We must recall that the use of the SFP *wé* implies that an alternative point of view is introduced in relation to the speaker's act of saying something. This is about making a request in (20).

The alternative point of view is introduced in this example by the fact that the speaker thinks the addressee may not want to carry the baby despite his request.

Note however that it is the speaker himself who introduces the alternative point of view. But he does introduce it with the ultimate aim of blocking it. In so doing, he presents *p* as the good or necessary value so that *p'* is ruled out. The semantic effect is that the addressee is politely led to comply.

If we substitute *nó* for *wé* as in (21), we find that 1) there is need to redefine a given state of affairs; 2) an element is introduced so that it is taken into account in order to redefine such a state of affairs.

In fact, in (21), the speaker makes his request so that it will serve as a reference point for redefining the state of affairs in question, like this: take what I am telling you i.e., my point of view as the reference point in order to determine whether or not you carry the child. However, and this is a major feature of *nó*, it is not explicitly indicated whether or not other possible reference points are taken into account and/or eliminated.¹¹

A quite similar analysis of the SFP *wé* can be made of (23). But first, a short comment on (22) is in order. This is a simple request for the addressee to come in, no more, no less. Hence one does not have the impression of emphasis. Example (23) however, suits a situation where a person does not come in despite several attempts to make him do so. The SFP *wé* signifies that the speaker's invitation holds, no going back, no calling it into question. The speaker can further make use of vowel lengthening to double the intensity of his assertion as in (24).

In sum, the SFP *wé* intrinsically contains a degree of emphasis, and vowel lengthening adds yet another degree.

- (22) *bằ-yâ*
enter-CTP
Come in.

(23) *bă-yâ* *wé*
 enter-CTP SFP
 Come in I say.

(24) *bă-yâ* *wé:*
 enter-CTP SFP
 Come in I say.

(25) *ánú* *byà-nú-ím* *wé*
 2PL come-DAT-1SGO SFP
 Come to my rescue. (Please).

Example (25) is quite similar to (9) and (10) seen previously with the difference that (25) contains a verb. Recall from examples (9) and (10) that the speaker finds himself in an uncomfortable situation. His cry of pains is nothing but a call for help, an emergency call. If we delete the *wé* particle in (25), we have a sequence that is not stabilized, meaning that we need to introduce some elements to stabilize it. Such stabilizing elements may include *óg^{wú}* ‘celebration’ as in *ánú byànúm óg^{wú}* ‘Come and celebrate with me’ and *ótìbì* ‘a kind of prenuptial retreat’ as in *ánú byànúm írá ótìbì* ‘Come for my prenuptial retreat’ (if it is a young lady in a marriage process).

The injunctive construction alone (in 25) implies that the speaker invites the addressee to realize the process <come and celebrate with me>, <come for my prenuptial retreat>.

And the situational context alone is enough to indicate that one is no longer dealing with an ordinary invitation.

The use of the SFP *wé* in (25) implies the following:

a) Despite the fact that the speaker has been crying out he has not (yet) been rescued.

It is as if his cry is not heard or that it is not taking place, in short, it is not recognized by the addressee. And the *p'* value is introduced.

b) The speaker therefore signifies that his cry does exist. In this way, his act of crying is asserted.

Injunctive constructions introduce two alternative values with *p* as the privileged one from the point of view of *S*₀, and *p* and *p'* as equiponderant for *S'*₀ pending the selection of *p* or *p'* by *S'*₀ through effective realization (or not) of the process by a

subject. In this case, the SFP *wé* implies that the speaker's request or order should be considered as something serious.

4.1.5 Summary of the way the SFP *wé* functions

In affirmative sentences, the speaker affirms X-P, a given predicative relation or a state of affairs. He declares that X-P is the case. But the addressee in his capacity as co-enunciator has a different point of view on this act of affirming the relation. The SFP *wé* is consistently used in order to assert the act of affirming the relation in question or the act of declaring that X-P is the case. In negative sentences, the speaker negates a predicative relation. And it is this act of negating that is asserted by the enunciator. In interrogative sentences used for greetings, the speaker's act of greeting is likely not to receive a response, which is a way of calling his act into question. But the enunciator guarantees the act. And finally, in injunctive sentences, the speaker makes a request but he is afraid his request may not be granted or listened to. Here again, the enunciator takes responsibility for the act of producing such injunctive sentences.

All this points to the fact that the SFP *wé* does not focus on the affirmation, negation, question or request. Its focus is the speaker's act of saying (i.e., affirming, negating, greeting, and making a request). Thus the use of the SFP *wé* implies that a speaker's act of saying is (tentatively) called into question maybe because this act is not considered the right one, from the point of view of S'₀, an alternative point of view, serving as the source of alterity. And then, S₀ reassesses the relation and presents his act as the right one, with the result that the alternative point of view is ruled out.

The fact that someone says something and his act of saying asserted explains why sentences with the SFP *wé* sometimes give the impression that the speaker emphasizes what he says.

4.2. The sentence final particle *tǎ*

The SFP *tǎ* only occurs in the final position of interrogative sentences. Let us recall that interrogative sentences generally imply that the speaker is not in a position to state whether or not a given process has taken place. And this may be because he

is not able or willing to do so. The effect of this is that the relation is not stabilized.

The question in (26) carries the verb suffix *-né* (the nasalized form of *-lé*, with the vowel 'e' harmonizing for [-ATR]). This suffix implies that the predicative relation <you-have some drinks> (rewritten X-P) is subject to two different constructions: a construction relative to time and space, meaning that the process represented by the relation actually takes place; and a subjective representation, implying that the process may have been expected or planned.

[Chima has come to his uncle's family. At some point, he goes to meet his uncle. And the latter asks him:]

- (26) ì wó-né máyâ
2SG to drink-PFT NON ASS wine, alcohol
Did you have some drinks?

The aim of the question in (26) is to know if X-P located relative to time and space corresponds to X-P as expected by the speaker (that is, as represented by a subject). The interesting thing here is that the speaker in his capacity as enunciator does not favour (or give preference to) any answer. Therefore, the answer can be 'yes' represented as the p value or 'no' represented as the p' value. Both values have equal weight (they are equiponderant). Given such an open question, it is understood that whichever value the co-enunciator validates, the enunciator will adopt it. And consequently, the two different points of view are reduced to one.

Assuming that Chima answers 'yes', and begins after a while, to show signs of uneasiness. The uncle may wonder whether the process which has been regarded as a given fact has actually taken place. In that case, the SFP *tá* becomes compulsory as in (27) and the question aims therefore to reassess the situation.

- (27) ì wǎ-né máyâ tá
2SG to drink-PFT NON ASS wine, alcohol SFP
By the way, did you have some drinks? (I suddenly have
some doubts as to whether you have had some drinks).

Thus, from a position where the *p* value is introduced without any consideration of *p'*, we move to a position where the *p'* value is introduced through the speaker's doubts as an alternative value. It is up to the addressee in his capacity as the co-enunciator, to assert one value or the other. It turns out that the SFP *tǎ* emphasizes the relation of alterity between *p* and *p'*.

[In a telephone conversation, A asks B:]

- (28) ì nè-mé kíní
 2SG PROG-to do what
 What are you doing?

In (28) the progressive marker *n-* implies that the predicative relation <B-be doing something> (noted X-P) is located relative to time while the question word *kíní* 'what' indicates that the object of the process 'do something' has to be specified. This can be phrased as follows: Is it the occurrence *O_i*, *O_j*, *O_k*, *O_y* or *O_z* of the class *O* that is valid? And unless an occurrence is selected, the relation <B-be doing something> cannot be stabilized.

[But to a person refusing to take advice, the speaker A can say:]

- (29) ì nè-mé kíní tǎ
 2SG PROG-to do what SFP
 What are you doing? (What on earth do you think you are doing when you refuse to take advice?)

The difference in (29) as compared to (28), is that when speaker A declares using the question that he is not in a position to say whether it is *O_i*, *O_j*, *O_k*, *O_y*, or *O_z* that B is doing, he does not ask B to select an occurrence of the class of *O* in order to stabilize or validate the relation.

In fact if we pay closer attention to the context here (B refuses to take advice) we observe that we are not dealing with a real question; it is a question used to disapprove of B's attitude. More precisely, the question word *kíní* 'what' implies quite alright that the object of the process 'do something' has to be specified. But with the SFP *tǎ* the speaker additionally indicates that he is wondering whether what B is doing is worth being recognized.

We can now see how we move from a position where (in 28) the speaker recognizes X-P (he simply notices that the subject is realizing the process and asks him to specify the object or complement of the process) to a position (in 29) where he calls X-P into question, implying that the subject can as well do something else. In other words, we go from a position (in 28) where the p value assigned to X-P by default¹² raises no question to a position (in 29) where upon re-evaluation, p and p' are both considered possible values.

[Osi has been treated badly and threatens to retaliate by doing something very bad. But his threat begins to irritate his friend who doesn't believe Osi can do anything tangible. Hence his friend asks him:]

(30) má kà ì z-ògbú bádû tá
 1SG say 2SG FUT-kill human being SFP

I am saying (i.e., come on), will you kill somebody?

We notice that the speaker (in 30) simultaneously introduces the predicative relation X-P <you-kill somebody> (with the default value p) and the SFP *tá*. The introduction of X-P here has to do with the fact that killing somebody is culturally regarded as the worst thing Osi or anyone else could do at least in such circumstances. The z- prefix indicates that the predicative relation <you-kill somebody> is assigned a distinguished value p, meaning that though p' has a lesser weight than p, it still remains a possible value. With the SFP *tá* the speaker indicates that upon re-evaluation he is wondering whether the p value really has more weight than p' <you-will not kill somebody>, in other words, both values are assigned equal weight.

Example (30) can be interpreted as follows: "you threaten to do something very bad, now if I take the bad thing you are talking about to mean killing somebody, I am wondering whether you would be able to do it. If you won't be able then why disturb my peace?"

[Ekwe will be passing through the speaker's place to the farm. And the speaker is waiting in order to have a talk with him. At a point in time, he asks his neighbor who has been sitting outside:]

(31) ékʷé ó hʷèlé ñh-â
 Ekwe 3SG pass-PFT NON ASS here
 Has Ekwe passed by?

The speaker does not know whether or not Ekwe has passed by. The two values *p* <Ekwe-has passed by> and *p'* <Ekwe-has not passed by> are assigned equal weight, and it is only the neighbour's answer that will specify which of them is valid.

- (32) ékʷé ó hwèlé ñh-â tá
 Ekwe 3SG pass-PFT NON ASS here SFP
 Has Ekwe passed by? (How am I sure he has not
 passed by at this time of the day).

The specific thing with (32) is that the speaker first thinks that *p'* i.e., <Ekwe has not passed> is the case. But when he realizes what time of the day it is, he begins to wonder if it is still the case that Ekwe has not passed by. Through the act of wondering, *p* i.e., <Ekwe has passed> is introduced with the effect that both *p* and *p'* become possible values.

In sum, the functioning of *tá* involves the following:

1) The *p* value (or in some cases *p'* as in 32) of a given notional domain represented by a predicative relation is initially introduced and regarded as valid without any reference to *p'* (or *p*); thus, no reference is made to any relation of alterity between the two values.

2) But for some reason (e.g. in (27) Chima is not happy), the speaker has doubts over *p* (or *p'*) bringing about a reassessment of the value thus introduced.

3) The speaker then introduces *p'* (or *p*) alongside *p* (or *p'*) so that they are considered possible values. Where both values are pre-constructed with one of them assigned a more or lesser weight than the other, the use of *tá* means that the two values are assigned equal weight. This is exactly the case in (30).

4.2.1 Some further arguments in support of the above analysis

The overall analysis is supported by the fact that the SFP *tá* does not occur in questions in which the validation of *p* is *certain* from the point of view of the enunciator (i.e., it is real, in conformity with the way the enunciator represents reality).

Thus, the SFP *tá* does not occur if the aim of the question is to confirm something, in other words, if the enunciator favours one of the two values. This is illustrated in (33) and (34):

- (33) * ànù z-àám tá
 2PL to be-confirmation SFP
 *You are there. (A way of saying ‘good day’.)

- (34) * í bò-lé tá
 2SG to pull apart-PFT NON ASS SFP
 *You have come through the night. (A way of saying ‘good morning’.)

The correct forms are (35) and (36):

- (35) ànù z-àám
 2PL to be-confirmation
 Confirm that you are there (see 16 already discussed).

- (36) í bò-lé
 2SG to pull apart-PFT NON ASS
 Good morning or You have come through the night?

As we can see, examples (35) and (36) are two different ways of greeting somebody in Ikwere. The speaker introduces each time the value *p* as the privileged value and asks someone else to confirm it. He does not call it into question. Hence SFP *tá* does not sound natural here.

The SFP *tá* does not occur if there is no doubt about the *p* value of the domain X-P, meaning that *p* has already been asserted. This is illustrated in (37) to (38).

- (37) *ì z-èrí érí tá
 2SG FUT-to eat REDUP SFP
 *Will you really? Sure? (I’m wondering whether you will eat.)

- (38) *ò z-àbyá ábyâ tá
 3SG FUT-to come REDUP SFP
 *He will surely come? (I’m wondering whether he will

come.)

The correct forms are (39) and (40):

- (39) *ì* *z-èrí* *éri*
 2SG FUT-to eat REDUP
 Will you eat? Sure?
- (40) *ò* *z-àbyá* *ábyâ*
 3SG FUT-to come REDUP
 He will come? For sure?

Examples (39) and (40) contain reduplicative verb forms (*zèrí érí*; *zàbyá ábyâ*). Since reduplicative forms generally indicate that *p* is centred such that there is no room for *p'*, any attempt to call *p* into question is bound to fail. Hence (37) and (38) are not natural.

4.2.2 Summary of the way SFP *tǎ́* functions

From the analysis so far, we can say that the SFP *tǎ́* marks a reassessment of the validation of *p* initially introduced without any reference to *p'*, by considering *p'* as an alternative value so that they both become possible values.

Let's recapitulate. Open questions generally imply that the speaker is not in a position to distinguish between *p* and *p'*. And therefore his question signifies that from the beginning *p* and *p'* have equal weight. The speaker then has recourse to someone else and asks him or her to distinguish between the two values by selecting one of them. This mechanism can further be represented as follows:

Open questions generally:

From the point of view of *S*₀: *p*, *p'* (*p* AND *p'*)

From the point of view of *S'*₀: *p* OR *p'*

But with the addition of the SFP *tǎ́* the speaker begins by assuming validity for *p* alone. However, upon re-evaluation, he calls *p* into question and thus introduces *p'* so that they both

become possible values. The speaker then invites someone else to validate one value or the other. The whole process can further be represented as follows:

Question + <i>tǎ́</i> :	From the point of view of S_0 :
→	p p, p' (i.e., p AND p') But from the point of view of S'_0: p OR p'

5. Conclusion

This article has focused on *wé* and *tǎ́*, two of the numerous sentence final particles in Ikwere. The aim has been to find out the specific feature of each of them. My analysis has shown that the two sentence final particles are used in order to reassess a process or a predicative relation and therefore to state the speaker's point of view relative to a given state of affairs. I have underlined how each of them contributes to this reassessment, indicating the speaker's point of view.

The SFP *wé* implies that a speaker's act of saying is (tentatively) called into question from the point of view of S'_0 , urging S_0 to reassess it as the right act, with the result that the alternative point of view is ruled out.

Similarly, the SFP *tǎ́* marks a reassessment of the validation of p (or p') initially introduced without any reference to p' (or p), by considering p' (or p) as an alternative value so that the two are regarded as possible values.

I have shown that these particles make a significant contribution to the meaning of sentences in which they occur. Thus *wé* can lead to the meaning of emphasis while *tǎ́* implies that one is not sure of something in a given situation. And finally, this article has been able to highlight the specific ways in which each particle brings into play alterity, a fundamental property of the language activity.

In the case of the SFP *wé*, alterity is brought into play by the fact that the point of view of S_0 differs from that of S'_0 relative to an act of saying whereas with the SFP *tǎ́*, alterity is brought into play through shifting from a position where p exists alone to a position where p coexists with p'.

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¹ Interested readers may see Hartmann (1994: 2957); Paillard (1986, 1999, 2001, 2002); Paillard & Markowicz (1986); Schourup (1999); Schiffrin (1987); and Hansen (1998) for discussion.

² I use the word 'particle' here to refer to those linguistic units in Ikwere that do not belong to the class of verbs, nouns or qualifying terms.

³ Interested readers may also see Ameka (1990); Dimmendaal (1996) and Singler (1988) for African languages spoken outside Nigeria. Similar particles have also been found and massively described in both Mandarin and Cantonese Chinese (see for instance Law (2002); Shei (2005)) as well as in Japanese (see for instance Saigo 2011).

⁴ Note however that *kó* and *nú* can also occur in other positions which are not examined here.

⁵ Abbreviations

1SG = 1st person singular pronoun; 1SGO = 1st person singular pronoun object; 2SG.EMPH = 2nd person singular pronoun emphatic with contrastive effect; 2PL = 2nd person plural pronoun; 3SG = 3rd person singular pronoun; 3SGO = 3rd person singular pronoun object; 3SG.EMPH.EXCL = 3rd person singular pronoun emphatic with exclusion; ASS = assertive; AGR = 1st person singular agreement; CTF = centrifugal movement; CTP = centripetal movement; DAT = dative of interest (quite similar to ethical dative in French,

used here for lack of a better label); F.T. NEG = falling tone negation marker; INJ = injunctive; LOG = logophoric pronoun; PFT = perfect marker; PFT NON ASS = nonassertive perfect marker; SFP = sentence final particle.

Ikwere tones are indicated as follows: á for High, à for Low, ǎ for Rising, â for Falling and ʼá for Down-step High. The tilde under a vowel indicates nasalization. IPA symbols are used in Ikwere examples except that dʒ is replaced with j; tʃ with c, and j with y. The symbol gb is used here for nonexplosive, bilabial stop with no velar occlusion. (Interested readers may see Clements & Osu 2002 for further details).

⁶ Within the Culiolian approach, assertion is a technical term and should not be confused with the English 'Assertion'. The latter word in English corresponds to what Culioli describes as the positive assertion. I discuss this technical term further below.

⁷ The speaker refers to a real physical entity whereas the enunciator is not just the speaker. The enunciator is neither the psychological subject nor the psychoanalytic ego. The enunciator is an abstract metalinguistic construct derived from the speaker. The enunciator serves as the parameter by which the dynamic process involved in the production of well-formed utterances are calculated and, consequently, understood. In sum, the enunciator is a SIMULATED SUBJECT. For ease of reading, I use the personal pronoun 'he' for enunciator. (cf. Osu 2003a: 543).

⁸ To be more specific, alterity is a technical term that refers to an inherent property of language activity. It underlines the quantitative and qualitative singularity of a given linguistic object; the property that differentiates such an object from other linguistic objects. With this term, one can account for failures, mistakes, misunderstandings, ambiguity, and polysemy that characterize language activity. This term equally enables one to account for regulation or adjustment between the enunciator and the co-enunciator in the process of meaning construction (cf. Culioli 1990: 103).

⁹ I use in italics here to mean emphasis.

¹⁰ In fact, greetings in Ikwere are always in the form of a question.

¹¹ See Osu (2003b) for details.

¹² Recall that the p value is the representative or the default value of a given notional domain.

The status of nasal consonants in Gbe languages: the case of Saxwɛgbeⁱ

Joshua T. Ham, SIL Togo-Benin

Abstract

The status of nasal consonants in the Gbe lects (Niger-Congo family, Kwa group) is contested. The generally-accepted analysis holds that nasal consonants are allophonic variations of certain oral consonants before nasal vowels. Alternatively, one could analyse the nasal consonants as inherently nasal phonemes that denasalize before oral vowels. This article shows that neither analysis is fully satisfactory. A hybrid analysis is posited, in which some nasal consonants are phonemically nasal and some are oral consonants which nasalize before nasal vowels. While this analysis is not without its difficulties, it resolves some major problems inherent in the other two analyses. An examination of the phonemic system of the Saxwɛgbe lect is presented according to the hybrid analysis.

Resumé

Le statut des consonnes nasales dans les parlers Gbe (famille Niger-Congo, groupe Kwa) est controversé. L'analyse la plus acceptée est que les consonnes nasales sont des variantes allophoniques de certaines consonnes orales. Une analyse alternative serait d'analyser les consonnes nasales comme étant de vraies nasales qui deviennent orales devant des voyelles orales. Cet article démontre qu'aucune de ces analyses n'est satisfaisante. Une analyse hybride est proposée, selon laquelle certaines nasales sont réellement nasales au niveau phonématique, et certaines sont des orales qui se nasalisent devant une voyelle nasale. Cette analyse souffre toujours de quelques difficultés, mais elle résout des problèmes majeurs

inhérents aux autres analyses. Un traitement du système phonématique du saxwɛgbe selon l'hypothèse hybride est présenté.

1. Introduction

The Gbe linguistic sub-group is part of the Kwa group, which is in turn a subset of the Niger-Congo language family (Williamson and Blench 2000:29). Gbe languages are spoken from Ghana to Nigeria (Stewart1989:229). It is not clear exactly how the Gbe sub-group should be divided into individual languages; in the hope of avoiding any controversies in this regard, in this article I will refer to “Gbe lects” instead of “Gbe languages” or “Gbe dialects”. Saxwɛgbe is a Gbe lect spoken in South western Benin.

According to Capo's classification, there are five groupings within the Gbe sub-group; Saxwɛgbe is part of the Phla-Phera grouping (Capo 1984:292-294). The latest Beninese government census (dating from 2002) found 174,771 speakers of Saxwɛgbe (Institut National de la Statistique et de l'Analyse Économique 2003:32).

2. The problem: nasal consonants in Gbe

All Gbe lects share the following traits:

1. Some consonants can appear freely before all types of vowels;
2. Some consonants appear only before oral vowels;
3. And some consonants appear only before nasal vowels.

The first category of consonants above shows clearly that both oral and nasal vowels are phonemic in Gbe lects. For example, we have the following minimal pairs (drawn from Saxwɛgbe):

- | | | | |
|-----------|------------|--------|----------------|
| (1) [tʃá] | to join | [tʃǎ] | to choose |
| [kê] | to be wide | [kễ] | to stop (rain) |
| [òfí] | place | [òfí̃] | ashes |

There are dozens, if not hundreds, of such pairs which clearly demonstrate that the oral/nasal distinction is pertinent for vowels.

We can now specify which consonants belong in each of the three categories cited above. For Category 1 consonants, those which combine freely with all vowels, Saxwɛgbe has the following:ⁱⁱ

	labial	alveolar	alveolo-palatal	velar	labio-velar	uvular	labio-uvular
stop		t d		k g	kp gb		
fricative	f v	s z				χ ʁ	χʷ ʁʷⁱⁱⁱ
affricate			tʃ dʒ				

Table 38:1 Category 1 consonants in Saxwɛgbe

These are essentially the obstruents of the lect. Following such analysts as (Lefebvre and Brousseau 2002, Tossa 1984, and Capo 1981), we may write them between slashes without further debate, for their phonemic status is not in question^{iv}. It is useful to note that these Category 1 consonants exist in pairs – one voiced, one voiceless.

For Categories 2 and 3, the situation is more complicated. Here are the Category of 2 consonants (that is, those which combine only with oral vowels) found in the Gbe continuum:

[b], [ɖ], [j], [w], [ɭ], [ɣ]

These consonants are written between brackets for now to indicate doubts as to their phonemic status.

Finally, here are the Category 3 consonants, that is, those that combine only with nasal vowels:

[m], [n], [ɲ], [ɟ], [ɰ^w], [ɩ̃], [ŋ]

By comparing the members of Categories 2 and 3, we may establish correspondences between them, as shown in Table 2:2.^v

Category 2 (oral)		Category 3 (nasal)
[b]	↔	[m]
[d]	↔	[n] ^{vi}
[j]	↔	[j̃] or [ɲ] depending on the lect and/or context
[w]	↔	[w̃] or [ɲ ^w] depending on the lect and/or context
[l]	↔	[l̃]
[ɣ]	↔	[ŋ]

Table 38:2 Correspondences between oral and nasal consonants (following Capo 1983:133-134)

According to (Ladefoged 2009:23), most of these correspondences are well-attested in West African languages.

The consonants of Category 2 are in complementary distribution with the consonants of Category 3. One could imagine at least four analyses to explain these data:

1. Oral consonants are phonemes *and* nasal consonants are phonemes.
2. Only the oral consonants are phonemes; nasal consonants are allophones of the oral ones.
3. Only the nasal consonants are phonemes; oral consonants are allophones of the nasal ones.
4. Some of the oral consonants are phonemes and some of the nasal consonants are phonemes.

We will examine these four analyses systematically. In the following analysis, we will use [b] as a representative consonant of Category 2, [m] as a representative consonant of Category 3, [a] as a representative oral vowel, and [ã] as a representative nasal vowel.

3. Evaluating the analyses

A. Analysis #1: both oral and nasal consonants are phonemes

According to this analysis the syllables /ba/, /ma/, /bã/, and /mã/ should contrast on the phonemic level. As *[ma] and *[bã] are not attested phonetically, some rules or constraints must exist to prevent them from being realized. One could say that, for one reason or another, /b/ simply never co-occurs with /ã/ and /m/ never co-occurs with /a/. There does not seem to be any motivation for such a constraint.

Alternatively, one could say that there is a sort of (double?) neutralization, with underlying /bã/ being realized as [ba] or possibly [mã], and underlying /ma/ being realized as [mã] or possibly [ba]. If that is true, there is no way to know a word's underlying form with any confidence. Does [ba] represent underlying /ba/, underlying /bã/ with denasalisation of the vowel, or underlying /ma/ with denasalisation of the consonant? There is simply no way to know.

More fundamentally, this analysis fails to respect a basic tenet of phonology: those two sounds in complementary distribution are allophones of a single underlying phoneme. For these reasons, Analysis #1 is not satisfactory.

B. Analysis #2: oral consonants are phonemes; nasal consonants are allophones

This is the most widely-accepted analysis. It posits the existence of underlying /ba/ and /bã/, with a simple rule or constraint to change /b/ into [m] before a nasal vowel. This analysis satisfactorily predicts the phonetic data and allows one to confidently derive the underlying form of any word.

However, there are problems with this analysis, the most pressing of which is defining a plausible phonological category that groups together all the consonants of Category 2. Which feature do they all share? Capo (1981:28-32) notes that none of the Category 2 consonants has a voiceless counterpart. In other words, the sounds [p], [t], [m], [ɲ], [j], and [x] do not exist in Gbe.^{vii} Given this, Capo proposes a feature which he calls

[paired]. Our Category 1 consonants are [paired] and do not undergo any change before nasal vowels. Consonants which are not [paired] become nasal before nasal vowels.

Capo has certainly discovered something interesting by noting the “bachelor” status of the Category 2 consonants. But we must agree with Stewart (1989:241), who finds the feature [paired] to be suspect. It is too abstract to be a true phonological feature; it has no phonetic underpinning at all. What is more, it is hardly surprising that the sounds [w], [ɪ] and [j] should have no voiceless counterpart, the sounds [ɱ], [ɲ] and [ɟ] being rather rare as phonemes. The [paired] feature is only pertinent for [b], [d], and possibly [ɣ].^{viii}

In conclusion, this analysis does cover the facts of the language – it has predictive power. But it does not have *explanatory* power. It does not tell us how these particular oral consonants could function as a phonological class.

C. Analysis #3: nasal consonants are phonemes; oral consonants are allophones

According to this analysis, the syllables /ma/ and /mã/ exist on the underlying level. A simple rule is required to denasalize the /m/ before an oral vowel. As with the preceding analysis, this analysis explains the phonetic data without ambiguity.

This analysis has several advantages over the preceding one. Most importantly, it does not require us to use the phonological feature [paired]. Instead, we can simply say that all sonorant consonants denasalize before an oral vowel. The existence of the feature [sonorant] is not controversial.

Indeed, this analysis makes more sense out of the [paired] feature phenomenon than the previous one. It is hard to see how or why a phoneme's lack of a voiceless counterpart would motivate its nasalization. What connection is there between “pairedness” and susceptibility to nasalization? However, under Analysis #3, the existence of unpaired phones like [b] and [d] is more intuitively explainable. Rather than becoming nasal because they are unpaired (a phenomenon that has no phonological motivation), they are unpaired because as mere

allophones they do not participate in the phonemic symmetry of the language.

Second, this analysis does not leave any “bachelor” consonants in the phoneme chart. We would have a fine set of obstruent’s, existing as voiced/voiceless pairs, and a set of sonorants. It is true that the sonorants would be unpaired, but that is hardly unusual. We would not expect a Niger-Congo language to have both /**m**/ and /**ṃ**/ (for example) in its phonemic repertory.

Third, the strange status of the sound [**ɣ**] is easier to analyse under this analysis. It is worth taking a moment to examine the distribution of this sound in the Gbe lects. It is essentially non-existent in Saxwɛgbe (Amoussou p.c.).^{ix} It exists in perhaps a dozen Ajagbe morphemes, and even then only some speakers use it. Others replace [**ɣ**] with [**j**] or [**w**] according to the phonological context. [**ɣ**] appears to exist in Evegbe (Sossoukpe p.c.), but it is disappearing in Gɛngbe. There, some older speakers say [**ɣé**] for ‘to be white’, but the younger generations are more apt to say [**ké**] (Sama p.c.; Azoti p.c.).

If Analysis #2 is correct, /**ɣ**/ is a phoneme with an allophone [**ŋ**] that appears before nasal vowels. As with [**ɣ**], the sound [**ŋ**] is practically non-existent in Saxwɛgbe^x. However, it is relatively common in Evegbe, Ajagbe, and Gɛngbe, for example in the word ‘to break’ ([**ŋé**] in Ajagbe and Gɛngbe, [**ŋǎ**] in Evegbe). Words containing [**ŋ**], while not numerous, do not have the same instabilities as words with [**ɣ**].

We can see, then, that [**ɣ**] is unstable in the sweep of Gbe lects, being often replaced by [**j**], [**w**] or [**ɛ**]. On the other hand, the sound [**ŋ**], where it does exist, is stable. If Analysis #2 is true, [**ŋ**] must be considered an allophone of /**ɣ**/, of /**j**/, of /**w**/, or of /**ɛ**/ depending on the speaker and the lect. This is nearly incoherent. According to Analysis #3, /**ŋ**/ is the phoneme, with various allophones according to the context. This is a much more reasonable analysis of the distribution of [**ɣ**] and [**ŋ**].

Despite these advantages, we must admit that Analysis #3 has some profound drawbacks. First, it posits that nasal harmony in Gbe is essentially a process of *denasalisation*. As Bole-Richard notes, the feature [nasal] is marked. It would be

strange for an unmarked feature like orality to spread. What is more, in Gengbe when a nasal vowel merges with an oral vowel, the resulting vowel is always nasal. As he says, ‘one never finds in Gen a phenomenon of assimilation where a nasal element loses its nasality when it comes in contact with an oral element’ (Bole-Richard 1983:40-41), my translation).

Second, Analysis #3 posits that /ĩ/ exists as a phoneme in all Gbe lects, and that /w̃/ and /j̃/ exist in many others such as Saxwɛgbe. This would be very unusual. In some lects, we would have /ɲʷ/ instead of /w̃/ and /ɲ/ instead of /j̃/, which would be a more acceptable result. But in all cases, we would have /ĩ/ as a phoneme, which is an indication that this analysis is less than ideal.

In conclusion, we cannot reject Analysis #3 out of hand. It does have considerable strong points. However, the strength of the counter-arguments means that this analysis is no better than Analysis #2, and probably even less satisfactory.

D. Analysis #4: some oral consonants are phonemes and some nasal consonants are phonemes

In considering this analysis, there are a number of different combinations of oral and nasal phonemes that one could consider. For this paper, we will look at the following arrangement:

/m/ is a phoneme, with an allophone [b] before oral vowels

/n/ is a phoneme, with an allophone [d] before oral vowels

/ɲ/ is a phoneme, with an allophone [ɣ] before oral vowels^{xi}

/w/ is a phoneme, with allophones [w̃] or [ɲʷ] before nasal vowels

/j/ is a phoneme, with allophones [j̃] or [ɲ] before nasal vowels

/l/ is a phoneme, with an allophone [l̃] before nasal vowels

This analysis is essentially that of (Yai 1969), though fleshed out somewhat more completely. One difference is that Yai does not treat the pairs [ɣ] ~ [ɲ] and [l] ~ [l̃]. Another is that the main evidence for his analysis comes from the symmetry of the resulting phoneme chart. All of the other lines of reasoning below are, as far as I know, original to me.

This analysis shares some of the disadvantages of the previous analysis. It requires a process of denasalisation for the phonemes /**m**/, /**n**/, and /**ɲ**/. Even worse, it posits that both nasalization and denasalisation exist, which seems somewhat unlikely.^{xii}

However, this analysis has several strong points. First, the phoneme chart produced by this analysis is nicely symmetrical. There are no “bachelor” consonants except the sonorants. Furthermore, there are no bizarre phonemes such as /**ĩ**/, which is not attested elsewhere among Niger-Congo phonemic repertoires.

Here is a consonant chart for Saxwɛgbe according to this analysis, keeping in mind that Saxwɛgbe is somewhat unusual among Gbe lects in not having the sounds [**ɣ**] ~ [**ɲ**]^{xiii}:

	labial	alveolar	palatal	velar	labio-velar
stop		t d		k g	kp gb
fricative	f v	s z	tʃ dʒ	χ ʁ	χw ʁw
approximant		l	j		w
nasal	m	n			

Table 38:1 Consonant phonemes of Saxwɛgbe according to Analysis #4

In other Gbe lects where [**ɣ**] ~ [**ɲ**] do clearly exist, it would be easy to insert a velar nasal phoneme /**ɲ**/ into this chart. The only notable gap in distribution is the lack of bilabial stops.

A second advantage is that Analysis #4 meshes well with the data on frequency of phones in Saxwɛgbe. In a Saxwɛgbe corpus of roughly 3,300 words, we find the following frequencies:

[m]	370
[b]	188

[n]	410
[ɲ]	310
[l]	466
[ɫ]	60
[j]	205
[ɰ] +	175
[ɰ]	
[w]	324
[ʋ]	76

Table 38:2 Frequency of oral and nasal allophones in Saxwɛgbe corpus

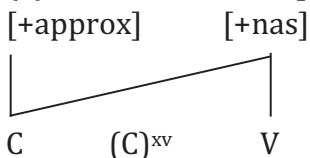
It is quite interesting to see that neither oral nor nasal allophones are more frequent across the board. In fact, the more common allophones in every case are those which are taken as phonemic by Analysis #4. Of course, one does not determine phonemic status simply by counting phone frequency. However, the data do seem to indicate some distinction between [m] and [n] on one hand and [ɫ], [ɰ]/ [ɰ], and [ʋ] on the other.

Third, Analysis #4 accords well with the fact that /j/, /w/, and /l/ constitute a natural phonological class in Gbe. These are the only consonants which can appear in the second position in a **C₁C₂V** syllable. In other words, the syllables **CjV**, **CwV**, and **ClV** exist in Gbe. So then, by saying that only /j/, /w/, and /l/ may undergo nasalization, we are not proposing a random choice, but instead calling upon an active phonological category of the language.

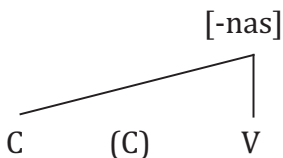
Finally, we do not have to appeal to the troublesome [paired] feature, as proposed by Capo. The consonant phonemes that participate in nasal assimilation are simply the sonorants of the language.

It is possible using binary features^{xiv} to write simple rules to describe the processes of nasalization and denasalisation posited under this analysis.

(2) Nasalization of approximants



(3) Denasalisation



In sum, Analysis #4 combines the strengths of Analyses #2 and #3, as well as seeming to capture some facts about the language that neither #2 nor #3 does. It also avoids some of the major disadvantages of both. It has, however, a potential Achilles' heel: it posits that both nasalization and denasalisation are active processes in Gbe (albeit in opposing contexts).

4. Conclusion

None of the four analyses are fully convincing; some are not even moderately satisfactory. All of them suffer from defects that seem to disqualify them as explanations for the linguistic facts. One could search for a historical reason why it is so difficult to find an elegant and convincing solution. For example, we could note that in the history of the Niger-Congo family, languages are struggling to find a balance between nasal vowels and nasal consonants.

As Stewart says that, 'the general trend has been for nasal consonant sounds to gain phonological ground at the expense of nasal vowel sounds' (Stewart 1989:242). Perhaps the Gbe lects are at an awkward position historically, in which the status of the consonants examined in this paper is ambiguous.

But it seems that today's phonological facts must be explainable today. As Capo states, historical explanations may be of some use, but we cannot classify today's phones according

to traits that they ceased to have some hundreds of years ago (Capo 1981:30-31). Without minimizing the importance of diachronic language development, it is clear that speakers of Saxwɛgbe do not have a phoneme that is mostly /ɖ/ but slowly becoming /n/. Today's Saxwɛgbe (or any other Gbe lect) has specific phonemes. These phonemes result, of course, from historic processes, but those processes can only go so far in explaining today's linguistic data.

That being said, even if the ancient history of the language is of limited use, recent history (including processes that continue to operate in the present day) could be more a fruitful avenue of further research. For example, cognate words in Gbe lects often differ in nasality. The verb “to break” is [gbà] in Ajagbe but [gbà] in Saxwɛgbe, while Ajagbe's [kplá] “to teach/learn” is [kplá] in Saxwɛgbe. Is there a pattern as to which lexical items are becoming nasal (or oral) in a given lect? If so, it could shed light on the whole phenomenon of nasality in Gbe.

Another possibility for further research is to take a deeper look at the phonology of the Gbe lects, which could provide data to confirm or refute any of the analyses from this paper. For example, voiced obstruents are known to have a depressor effect on tone in some Gbe lects. A careful tone study could possibly shed light on the phonemic status of [b] and [ɖ] by examining their effect on nearby tones. For the moment, though, Analysis #4 – which views /m/, /n/, and /ŋ/ as nasal consonants that denasalize before oral vowels, and /w/, /j/, and /l/ as oral consonants that nasalize before nasal vowels – is the best explanation for the linguistic data of the Gbe lects.

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ⁱⁱOther Gbe lects show minor differences from the list given here. For example, Euegbe has [ɸ] and [β] in place of [χw] and [ɓw] respectively. As this does not affect the argumentation of this paper, I will make no further reference to these differences.

ⁱⁱⁱThere are some controversies as to the exact phonetic identity of the phones listed here as [χ], [ɓ], [χw], and [ɓw]. Gbe linguists sometimes refer to them as [x], [h], [xw], and [hw] respectively. I follow Capo (1981) here, except that I substitute [ɓ] for his [ɹ], and [ɓw] for his [ɹw]. Probably his use of ɹ instead of ɓ was simply due to the typographic constraints of the times.

^{iv}It is beyond the scope of this paper to establish the phonemes of the Gbe lects. For further discussion of the phonemes of Saxwɛgbe, especially the unitary phonemic status of /χw/ and /ɓw/, see Beavon-Ham and Ham (2013).

^vIn Gbe, the sounds [ɥ] and [ɥ̃] also exist, but they are allophonic variants of the same phoneme that yields [j] ~ [j̃] ~ [ɲ]. Likewise, [ɾ] and [ɾ̃] also exist in Gbe, but they are allophonic variants of the same phoneme that yields [l] ~ [l̃]. Therefore, for simplicity's sake I do not include them in Table 1 or in the following analysis.

^{vi}It may seem strange that [ɖ] and [ɳ] should be counterparts, seeing that they apparently do not share exactly the same point of articulation. However, as Capo says (1981:7), "There are still some problems concerning the actual phonetic characteristics of certain segments," including [ɖ] and [ɳ]. He analyzes both [ɖ] and [ɳ] as apical alveolar, while [ɖ] is laminal dental. What is clear, in any case, is that [ɖ] and [ɳ] are the roughly alveolar segments that participate in nasal harmony, while [ɖ] occurs freely with both oral and nasal vowels.

^{vii}It is true that [p] exists in borrowed words and ideophones, but it is marginal in most Gbe lects. [ɸ] may also seem to have a voiceless counterpart, since (as mentioned in footnote 2) some analysts have [x] in place of [χ]. Whether we call it [x] or [χ], though, this phone is already paired with a voiced counterpart, [ɓ]. So [ɸ] is also without a true voiceless corollary.

^{viii}The sound [ɣ] is rather marginal in most Gbe lects. See the section on Analysis #3 below.

^{ix}The Beninese government literacy primer for Saxwɛgbe includes the letter ɣ. However, in our corpus of roughly 3,300 words in Saxwɛgbe, there are only two morphemes containing [ɣ]. This sound, then, is marginal at best in Saxwɛgbe.

^xThe status of [ŋ] in Saxwɛgbe is nebulous. We do not have clear examples of it in our corpus. However, it (as well as [ɣ]) may exist in other dialects of Saxwɛgbe. According to Capo (1981:25), both [ɣ] and [ŋ] are also absent from Fongbe.

^{xi}As noted above, in some Gbe lects [ɣ] is replaced by [j], [w], or [ɓ].

^{xiii}It is worth noting that at least one denasalisation process seems to be attested in the Gbe continuum. In Adangbe, there is denasalisation of vowels after oral consonants (Stewart 1989:241). We can say, then, that denasalisation is not totally unknown in Gbe.

^{xiii}Two notes on the chart: 1) though /χ/, /ɸ/, /χw/, and /ɸw/ are phonetically (labio-) uvular rather than (labio-) velar, the distinction between velar and uvular is not pertinent in Gbe. They are placed in the same columns as the velars and labio-velars to simplify the chart. 2) The phonemes /tʃ/ and /dʒ/ are, of course, neither strictly palatal nor fricatives. But they contain both palatal and fricative elements; their current placement simplifies the chart.

^{xiv}It is rather more difficult to write these rules using unary features. According to this analysis, both nasality and lack of nasality are features which exist and can spread in the correct context. A unary feature theory can only capture this with difficulty – we would have to posit a [nasal] feature that spreads, as well as an [oral] feature that also spreads. It does not seem entirely honest, though, to use two unary features, [nasal] and [oral], which are perfect counterparts. Is this not just the binary feature [±nasal] in disguise?

^{xv}The optional consonant (C) must be included in the rules to account for such forms as Saxwɛgbe [wĩǎ] 'to write'.

Tone in Western Ejagham (Etung): lexical tone on verbs with the perfective constituent focus suffix

John R. Watters, SIL International

I. Introduction

The goal of this study is to provide an account of the surface tones found on the set of verb forms that involve the perfective constituent focus suffix. This is one of over a dozen segmental affixes, both prefixes and suffixes, on verbs in Western Ejaghamⁱ, an Ekoid Bantu language of Cameroon and Nigeria. The account of these verb forms will assume Lexical Phonology as a theoretical framework (see Pulleyblank 1986). It will focus primarily on the lexical level, but will include the post-lexical level where relevant.

The study will build on two more recent studies of tone in the language, (Watters 2000 and 2012). The first study focused on tone on Ejagham nouns at the lexical and post-lexical levels. Lexically the association of noun tone melodies to tone-bearing units follows a set of ranked principles, from most restrictive to least restrictive. The second study focused on a set of “minimal” Ejagham verb forms that on the surface are only distinguished from one another by tone but actually involve older affixes that have lost their segmental shape but whose tone has persisted. The minimal verb forms required further modifications to the ranked principles that account for tone on nouns.

In this study, one of the three older verbal suffixes will be presented. The verb forms involving the perfective constituent focus suffix, along with the “minimal” verb forms, likely represent forms inherited from Proto-Bantoid or earlier. At least two other verb suffixes and one prefix represent older affixes as well. However, unlike the “minimal” verb forms, this

suffix has at least retained some of its segmental shape rather than leave only tones behind.

II. Assumptions regarding tone in Ejagham for this analysis

Before we turn to the tonal details about the perfective constituent focus suffix, some of the assumptions being made in this analysis should be identified, such as: What do we know and what can we safely assume about tone on verbs in Western Ejagham? Among the items that we can assume for this analysis include the following statements based on Watters (1981, 2000, and 2012). Western Ejagham has:

(1) a. Two underlying tones, high (H) and (L), a common feature of Bantoid,

b. Down stepped high (⁺H) resulting from a floating (or un-associated) low tone (*L) that precedes the high (H) tone, common for Ekoid and neighbouring languages,

c. Six surface phonological realizations of those two underlying tones: high (H), low (L), down stepped high (⁺H), falling-to-low (HL), falling-to-down stepped high (H⁺H), and rising (LH),

d. Canonical phonetic down drift (=a H tone after a L tone is lower than any H before the L, resulting in gradual lowering of the pitch register), common for Ekoid and neighbouring languages, and

e. Verb roots in their underlying lexical form take either low-high (L H) or (H) tone.

III. Suffixed verbal forms

Three verbal suffixes are found in Ejagham, all probably dating at least to Proto-Bantoid but likely with somewhat different semantics in some cases. These are:

(2) Perfective constituent focus suffix *-ǃ̀*

(*i* following high vowels, otherwise *ɛ*)

Imperfective suffix *-ág* (allomorphs *-g* and *-á*)

Note: semantics of *-ág* include these aspects

- a. Habitual/concomitant and
- b. Imperfective constituent focus

Imperative suffix –` (with variants ` and null (Ø))

All three suffixes have experienced some reduction, especially the first and the last. The imperative suffix is the most reduced and in danger of disappearing, while the perfective constituent focus suffix has been reduced to a harmonized vowel (V) with a complex tone.

In this study there is only space for a treatment of the perfective constituent focus form.

IV. The perfective constituent focus form

The perfective constituent focus is used in relative clauses, clauses with the focus particle, interrogative word questions and answers to those questions, and sentences with contrastive focus on an argument or predicate. The form is also used for counter-factual conditionals as in the English utterance: “if I had gone (but I didn’t) ...”

Consider the examples in (3) and (4) for the two different lexical tones on verbs, that of LH and that of H tone. Verb roots in Ejagham have the following shape: CV, CVC, CVV, and CVCV. In (3) examples of CV roots are provided and in (4) examples of CVCV rootsⁱⁱ. The double stop /gb/ represents a single consonant, the first consonant in the –CV root in (3).

(3)		LH	gloss	H	gloss
		-gbǎ	‘to fall’	-kó	‘to take’
a.	1p	è-gbǎ-é ⁺	‘we fell’	è-kó- ⁺ é	‘we took’
b.	3s	à-gbǎ-é ⁺	‘he/she fell’	à-kó- ⁺ é	‘he/she took’
c.	3p	á-gbǎ ⁺ -é	‘they fell’	á-kó- ⁺ é	‘they took’
(4)		LH	gloss	H	gloss
		-rǎβé	‘to open’	-kǎŋé	‘to fry’
a.	1p	è-rǎβ-é ⁺	‘we opened’	è-kǎŋ- ⁺ é	‘we fried’
b.	3s	à-rǎβ-é ⁺	‘he/she	à-kǎŋ- ⁺ é	‘he/she fried’

opened'

- c. 3p á-ráβ⁺-é 'they opened' á-kán-⁺é 'they fried'

The suffix is a front unrounded vowel. Its height is determined by the height of the first root vowel. The examples in (3) and (4) all have non-high vowels in the first vowel position so the suffix appears as -ε, but -i occurs with roots that have an initial high vowel as in á-gúr⁺-í 'they sold' or á-gyím⁺-í 'they stood up'. In the case of CVV and CVCV roots, the final vowel is deleted when the suffix is adjoined. This means that all disyllabic verb roots become monosyllabic roots once the suffix is added. The tone on the suffix is complex, representing at least a H tone preceded by a floating *L tone, which causes the H tone to be down stepped. Therefore, the underlying tone would be a rising tone LH, at least at this stage of the analysis.

The association of the tones would follow the principles in (5), established in Watters 2000 and 2012, reworded somewhat here. These principles operate within sets of ranked principles from more restrictive to less restrictive.

(5) Principles for lexical tone on nouns and verbs

a. On first cycle:

1. all tones must be associated with a TBU (e.g. noun and verb roots)
2. avoid contour tones whenever possible

b. After first cycle (forming stem and word forms):

1. Avoid contour tones whenever possible
 - a. prohibit complex contour tones (e.g. LHL or HLH)
 - b. prohibit rising tones on prefixes and suffixes
 - c. avoid rising tones on roots whenever possible
 - d. avoid falling tones on prefixes whenever possible
2. Prefer L tones to remain un-associated after first cycle
 - a. prefer down stepped H tone (i.e. ⁺ ') to a falling tone followed by H or a H tone followed by a rising tone (i.e. prefer H⁺H to H-L H or H L-H)
 - b. prefer preserving un-associated L tones to deleting un-associated L tones (e.g. morphemes

consisting of L tone only and no TBU remain, but are un-associated)

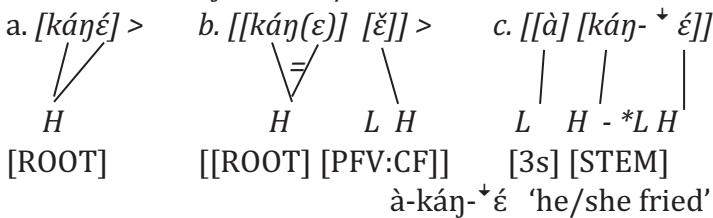
c. require all H tones to associate with a TBU on all cycles

According to these principles, in the first cycle tones of the verb root are associated with the TBUs of the root. Afterwards, when affixes are added, all H tones must be associated with a TBU but generally L tones are left un-associated. That is, a L tone is left un-associated if it is not needed to fulfil the requirement that each TBU be associated with at least one tone. Such L tones would present themselves either as part of a morpheme without a TBU that is adjoined to the root or as a L tone that has been delinked because of the spreading of a H tone. So in every derivation involving the perfective constituent suffix the H tone of the suffix is associated with the TBU of the suffix while the L tone is left un-associated. It is a floating *L tone and derives a down stepped H tone.

In verb forms involving the perfective constituent suffix, the subject prefixes all take L tone except 3pp which takes H tone. The 1p examples in rows (3a) and (4a) represent the tonal pattern for all non-third persons: i.e. 1s, 1p, 2s, and 2p.

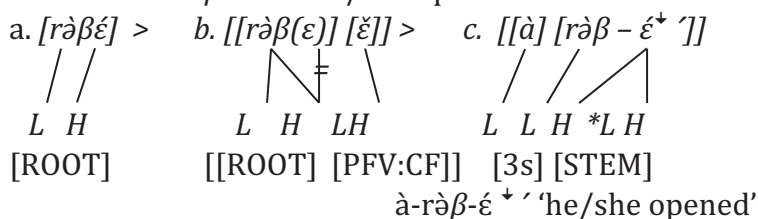
Even though the joining of the suffix to the LH and H tone verb roots does not produce a simple outcome in either case, a simpler process involves the H tone verb roots as in the right hand column in (3) and (4). With both LH and H tone verb roots there is a down stepped associated with the suffix. This points to the un-associated L tone mentioned above, represented as *L. Consider the following derivation for (4b) with the H tone CVCV verb root *káñé* 'to fry'.

(6) Derivation of à-káñ-⁺é 'he/she fried'



In the first cycle (6a), the H tone of the root is associated with the two TBUs of the verb root *káηέ*. On the second cycle, the suffix -έ is adjoined to the verb root to form the new stem. When the suffix is added in (6b), the second vowel of the root is deleted as is the linkage of the H tone to that vowel. The H tone of the suffix is then associated with the TBU of the suffix, but its L tone is not associated, following principles (5.b., 1.b and 5.b., 2.a and b). On the third cycle in (6c) the L tone prefix *à*-for third person singular is adjoined to the stem, giving *à-káη-⁺έ* ‘he/she fried’. The derivation is straightforward. But how does this derivation fair with the LH tone CVCV verb root *ràβέ* ‘to open’ in (4b)? Consider (7).

(7) Derivation of *à-ràβ-έ⁺* ‘he/she opened’



In the first cycle (7a), the L and H tones of the root are associated with the two TBUs of the verb root *ràβέ*. On the second cycle in (7b), the suffix -έ is adjoined to the verb root to form the new stem. The second vowel of the root is deleted as is the linkage of the H tone to that vowel. Note that one result of deleting the second vowel of all disyllabic verb roots is that all verb roots become monosyllabic: CVV > CV- and CVCV > CVC-. Nothing significant happens in the case of the H tone verb roots, but in the case of the LH verb roots principle (5.b.2.c) applies.

A H tone must be associated, so the delinked H tone is re-associated with the root TBU that is already associated with the L tone, creating a rising LH tone in the process. The result is that all LH verb roots are assigned a rising LH tone at this stage in the derivation regardless of their initial syllable structure (all are monosyllabic at this stage in the derivation).

At this point in (7b), the root LH is followed by the LH sequence of the suffix. With regard to rising tones, principle (5.b.1.c) states that rising tones on roots are avoided whenever

possible. In (7c) it avoids this state by re-associating the H tone of the LH to the TBU to the right leaving only the L tone associated with the root. This process is identical to a post-lexical process in Ejagham that also simplifies rising LH tones (cf. Watters 2000 and 2012). In the case of (7) this would mean that this H tone of the root would be re-associated with the suffix, producing the H*LH [⁺ ⁺] glide involving a H followed by a down stepped H as we see in (7c) and exemplified in (3a and 4a) as well as (3b and 4b) for LH verb roots.

V. Rising tone simplification: lexical or post-lexical?

A relevant question at this point is whether it is really the post-lexical simplification of the rising LH tone that is applied in (6c) or whether there is motivation for a simplification rule for the rising LH tone at the lexical level? In other words, is a single post-lexical simplification rule of the rising LH tone sufficient, or do we need two different rising LH simplification rules, one at the lexical level and another at the post-lexical level? The evidence is the following:

First, to take another verb form, namely the negative imperative in (8), the prefix *kà'* is associated with a rising LH tone as in *kà'-gùrí* 'do not sell!' This rising LH tone simplifies, with the H tone of the prefix associating with the first TBU of the root and in the process causing the L tone on *gùrí* to delink (7b). The result is the form *kà-gúr⁺í*. It shows that in the simplification of rising LH tone, with the H tone being re-associated with the following TBU, the L tone associated with that TBU is delinked, creating a sequence of H followed by a down stepped H on the verb root.

(8) Simplification of rising LH tone: lexical

- a. *kà' - gùrí* > b. *kà - gúr⁺í*
 NEG – sell: 2s
 'Don't sell!'

This is parallel with what we find on the suffix of *à-ràβ-é⁺* in (7c). So at the lexical level the simplification of rising LH tone

leads to the delinking of a following L, and if that L tone is followed by a H tone, then the H tone is down stepped as we see in (8b) *kà-gúr⁺í* as well as (7c) *à-ràβ-é⁺′*. So at the lexical level LH simplification is associated with derived down stepped H tones.

Second, at the post-lexical level, when the rising LH tone is simplified by re-associating the H tone to the following TBU, a different result is achieved. This simplification is generally across a word boundary, unlike examples like (7c) and (8b) which involve morpheme boundaries. We will first look at nouns since they behave differently than other word classes in relation to a preceding rising LH tone.

Most nouns have low tone prefixes. About one in six nouns has a high tone prefix, most likely derived from an earlier reduplication process (see Watters1990). When a noun with a low tone prefix is preceded by a word with a final H tone, the H tone spreads across to the noun prefix raising the prefix tone to H (see Watters 2000:419-423). The original L tone of the prefix is then delinked and remains a floating *L tone. It's down stepping effects are seen if it precedes a H tone over the noun root. So in some cases a down stepped high tone is derived. However, this spreading happens whether the tone is a simple H tone or part of a complex LH tone sequence. The derivation of the down stepped high tone happens either with a simple preceding H tone and or a preceding LH tone sequence and is separate from the simplification of the rising LH tone.

In (9a) the verb root has a H tone. In (9b) it has spread to the following noun, *è-gòmé* 'plantain', changing an original L-LH sequence over the noun to an H-LH sequence. In (10a) the same process takes place, only in (10a) the verb root tone involves a rising LH sequence. The H tone of this sequence also spreads, causing the prefix of the following noun in (10b) to bear a H tone in the same way as in (9b). The only difference between the two is that in (10c) the LH sequence associated with the verb root is simplified to L, with the H delinked from the root TBU.

(9) Spreading of high tone: from a H tone verb root to a noun with a L tone prefix

- L - H L - L H > L- H H- L H
- a. à-yám è-gòmé> b. à-yám é-gòmé
- 3s: HORT-cook 5-plantain
- ‘She should cook plantain.’

(10) Spreading of high tone: from a LH tone verb root to a noun with a L tone prefix

- L- L H L- L H> L- L H H- L H> L- L H- L H
- a. à-năm è-gòmé > b. à-năm é-gòmé> c. à-nàm é-gòmé
- 3s: HORT-buy 5-plantain
- ‘She should buy plantain.’

Another example of the simplification of rising LH tone involves a word category other than a verb. In both (11a) and (11b) the rising LH tone is associated with a preposition. This is represented in Stage I. Each preposition is followed by a noun with an L tone prefix. In Stage II of (11a) and (11b) the H tone of the LH sequence of the preposition spreads to the following noun, associating with its first TBU. This process causes the original low tone associated with the prefix to be delinked, leaving only the spread H tone associated with the prefix. Finally in Stage III, the simplification of the rising LH tone takes place, with the H tone delinking from the TBU of the preposition.

(11) Simplification of rising HL tone: post-lexical

- | I | II | III |
|----------------|--------------|----------------------------------|
| a. nǎŋ è-jùm > | nǎŋ é-jùm > | [nǎŋ é-jùm] ‘Like(this) thing’ |
| b. kǎ ò-ték > | kǎ í’ -ték > | [kǎ í’ -ték] ‘In (the) villages’ |

So the down step that can appear internal to nouns is a result of H tone spreading from a previous word and not from a simplification of a rising LH tone as it is at the lexical level.

We can now look at word categories other than nouns to see how the simplification of the rising LH tone produces a different result than it does internal to verbs as in in *kà-gúr[†]í*

don't sell' as well as $\grave{a}\text{-r}\grave{\alpha}\beta\text{-}\acute{\epsilon}\text{'}$ 'he/she opened'. Examples in (12) cover a range of word categories.

(12) Simplification of rising LH tone: examples of $\text{LH}+\text{L} > \text{L} + \text{HL}$

a. A rising tone before a possessive pronoun

$n\check{\eta}\ \acute{\epsilon}\text{-jám}\acute{\epsilon}$ > $[n\check{\eta}\ \acute{\epsilon}\text{jám}\acute{\epsilon}]$ 'Like mine'

$\grave{n}ch\check{d}\ \grave{a}m\acute{\epsilon}$ > $[\grave{n}ch\grave{\alpha}r\ \acute{a}m\acute{\epsilon}]$ 'My matter'

b. A rising tone before a demonstrative pronoun

$k\check{a}\ \grave{n}ny\acute{\imath}$ > $[k\grave{a}\ \acute{n}ny\acute{\imath}]$ 'At this village'

$\grave{n}ch\check{d}\ \grave{n}ny\acute{\imath}$ > $[\grave{n}ch\grave{\alpha}d\ \acute{n}ny\acute{\imath}]$ 'This matter'

c. A rising tone before a verb subject prefix

$\grave{m}m\check{n}\ \grave{a}\text{-}\beta\acute{a}$ > $[\grave{m}m\grave{\alpha}n\ \acute{\alpha}\beta\acute{a}]$ '(Our) child came'

$\grave{n}ch\check{d}\ \grave{a}\text{-}m\acute{a}n$ > $[\grave{n}ch\grave{\alpha}r\ \acute{a}m\acute{a}n]$ 'The matter is finished'

d. A rising tone before an associative marker

$\grave{m}m\check{n}\ \acute{\epsilon}\ \grave{m}\text{-}b\acute{u}\acute{\imath}$ > $[\grave{m}m\grave{\alpha}n\ \acute{\epsilon}\ \grave{m}b\acute{u}\acute{\imath}]$ 'A small goat'

$\grave{n}ch\check{d}\ \acute{\epsilon}\ \grave{n}t\acute{e}k$ > $[\grave{n}ch\grave{\alpha}r\ \acute{\epsilon}\ \grave{n}t\acute{e}k]$ 'The village's matter'

Examples in (12) demonstrate that at the post-lexical level the simplification of a rising LH tone before a L tone leads to a L tone followed by a falling HL tone. Thus, there is a significant difference between the simplification of rising LH tone at the lexical level and the same process at the post-lexical level. A rule for the simplification of the rising LH tone at both levels is justified.

VI. High tone spreading on nouns and the tonal shape of the constituent focus suffix

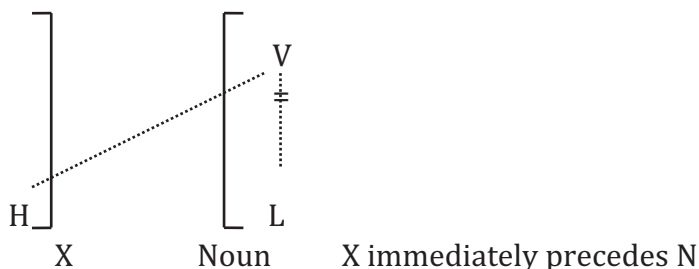
Having noted the likely tonal form of the perfective constituent focus suffix as well as the simplification of the LH tone sequence on LH verb roots, both of which account for the results we see in (3) and (4), there is one other phenomenon that relates to the underlying tone of this suffix. This is the phenomenon of H tone spreading across word boundaries as presented at length in Watters 2000 and 2012 and mentioned above in section V. In this case, any H tone, down stepped or not, that precedes a noun spreads across the word boundary

onto the noun prefix TBU. If this TBU already is associated with a H tone, the process is vacuous.

However, with five sixths (83%) of the nouns the prefix is a L tone. In these cases, the H tone preceding the noun spreads and is associated not only with its original TBU but also with the nouns' prefix TBU. In the process the L tone is delinked, leading to various tone changes on nouns. The result is that every noun with an L tone prefix has two different tone melodies associated with it at the word level. (9), (10), and (11) provide some examples.

In (9), (10) and (11) we can see that the L tone of the prefix of the noun has been replaced by the H tone spreading from the preceding word. The rule that applies is rule (17) in Watters 2000 and 2012 and provided again here as (13).

(13) Post-lexical H tone spreading



In this context we can consider the fact that the perfective constituent focus suffix appears to be associated with a final down stepped H tone. Based on this final H tone we would expect the high tone to spread and associate with the prefix of any following noun and in the process replace any underlying L tone. Consider the examples in (14).

(14) High tone spreading onto noun prefixes from preceding H tones

Example: **ńjû** 'house'

a. à-kí-rə̀βé ńjù 'she is opening the house'

[final H spreads, so ńjû>ńjù]

b. à-rə̀βé ńjù 'she should open the house'

- [final H spreads, so ñjû>ńjù]
 c. à-rə̀β-é⁺ ñjû ‘she opened **the house**’
 [ñjû remains as ñjû]

In (14c) the perfective constituent focus form ends with a H tone but it does not spread to the following L tone noun prefix. In (14a) the H tone of the root in the progressive form does spread and replaces the L tone on the noun tone prefix with H tone. The L tone remains but is delinked. The same occurs in (14b) in the subjunctive/hortative form. The H tone spreads onto the following noun prefix.

We note that in all cases where a H tone is blocked from spreading where it would be expected to spread, it is a floating *L tone that blocks the spreading. In most cases the presence of the floating *L tone is one that appears on the surface in at least one variant of the word. However, in some cases only the blocking of spreading or the presence of down step as in the conditional verb form attests to the presence of a floating *L tone. So in the case of this perfective constituent focus suffix, we can assume that there is a third underlying tone associated with it, namely, another floating *L tone as in (15). This floating *L tone will account for the lack of spreading to the following noun. This process demonstrates how persistent tone is even when the segmental material of certain morphemes is increasingly depleted.

(15) Perfective constituent focus suffix

TBU: V]
 Tone: *L H *L]
 TAM: PFV: CF]

The tonal complexity of the perfective constituent focus suffix raises the question as to what the original shape of the suffix was. Three tones would likely be associated with at least two TBUs, and possibly three. What we see today is likely a reduction of a more significant suffix. One possibility might be *-ile that is found in the Bantu zone. Nurse (2008:264-267) suggests *-ile was likely either a perfective or perfect (his ‘anterior’) suffix, both of which would be logical possibilities.

Languages in this region of Cameroon and Nigeria are noted for reducing post-verbal syllables. In this case, if it does derive from **-ile* it would be the marked form of the perfective and therefore suited to the marked role of indicating focus on arguments or predicates. Within the Ekoid-Mbe group of languages of which Ejagham is a member, the language *Mbe* has *-lé* as the perfective suffix, so we might reconstruct **-ilê*.

Finally, we could ask how it is that the 3p forms in (3c) and (4c) for LH and H verb roots end up with the same surface tones. We can look at the 3p forms in (3c), and repeated in (16), for an answer.

- (16) a. 3p LH verb root á-ráβ⁺-é ‘they opened’
 3p-open-PFV: CF
 H-LH-**LH*L* > H_H**L*-H (**LH*) **L*

- b. 3p H verb root á-kán⁺-é ‘they fried’
 3p-fry-PFV: CF
 H-H-**LH*L* > H_HH- **LH*L*

The derivation is provided in (17).

- (17) Derivation of LH root á-ráβ⁺-é and H root á-kán⁺-é

- | | á-ráβ ⁺ -é | á-kán ⁺ -é |
|------------------------------------|---|----------------------------|
| a. root tone assigned | [L H] | [H] |
| b. suffix adjoined | [L H] <i>*LH*L</i> | [H] <i>*LH*L</i> |
| c. simplify rising LH tone | [L Ø] <i>H*LH*L</i> | not applicable |
| |  | |
| d. H tone subject prefix | [H[L H] <i>*LH*L</i>] | [H[H] <i>*LH*L</i>] |
| e. spreading of H prefix | [H[H] <i>*L H*LH*L</i>] | vacuous |
| |  | |
| f. <i>*delete impossible tones</i> | [H[H] <i>H*LH*L</i> Ø Ø] | not applicable |
| | (two down steps reduced) | |
| g. | á - ráβ ⁺ - é * | á - kán ⁺ - é * |

The crucial step is (17f) in which the complex tone sequence of *H*LH*LH*L* is reduced to *H*LH*L* over the verb root and

suffix. The additional down stepped H – making two down stepped H tones over a CVCV sequence – is simply not permitted as an Ejagham sequence, probably for articulatory reasons. If there was an additional syllable it would be possible.

VII. The lexical tone analysis of the perfective auxiliary focus reconsidered

Consider the following forms.

(18) Perfective constituent focus

- | | LH | | H |
|----|--|--|---------------------------------------|
| a. | 3s à-gbò-é ⁺ ‘He/she fell’ | | à-kó- ⁺ é ‘He/she took’ |
| b. | 3s à-rə̀β-é ⁺ ‘He/she opened’ | | à-kánj- ⁺ é ‘He/she fried’ |

(19) Perfective (auxiliary focus)

- | | LH | | H |
|----|----------------------------|--|------------------------|
| a. | 3s à-gbô ‘He/she fell’ | | à-kô ‘He/she took’ |
| b. | 3s à-rə̀βè ‘He/she opened’ | | à-kánjè ‘He/she fried’ |

In this presentation we have been concerned with the perfective constituent focus forms in (18). It is clearly marked by a suffix that we have analysed as having the form in (15). The perfective constituent focus form has a complementary form referred to as the “perfective auxiliary focus” form or “general perfective” or “perfective” seen in (19). This form is presented in Watters 2012 as one of the “minimal” verb forms.

“Minimal” in that case meant that on the surface the verb appeared to consist of only a pronominal prefix and a verb root, with an associated tone pattern. There was no indication segmentally that they were marked by other tense-aspect-mood prefixes or suffixes. There is also no clear indication that tonally a given minimal form derives its segmental and tonal form from reduced prefixes, suffixes or both. Yet tone is the distinguishing property for each of the minimal forms, which in most cases represents lost segments but persisting tone.

In Watters 2012 the perfective auxiliary focus form was analysed as primarily involving a prefix that had been reduced to a replacement tone. The proposed prefix was a HL tone sequence that replaced the root tone of all verbs. This proposal

begged the question as to what segmental prefix this might be related to historically.

However, Nurse 2008 points out that aspect in Bantu is primarily marked by final vowels of the verb. This comment raises the possibility that the same holds true for the wider set of Bantoid languages such as Ejagham as well, if not synchronically at least historically. So it raises the possibility of reanalyzing the perfective auxiliary focus form as involving a reduced suffix rather than a reduced prefix. Positing a suffix would make it parallel to the perfective constituent focus suffix we have been describing above. It could be related to something as simple as a L tone suffix **-à*.

In this second possible hypothesis, the perfective auxiliary aspect form is marked by a suffix reduced today to simply a L tone. As a suffix it would parallel the perfective constituent focus suffix presented in this current study, and it parallels the structure of Bantu as proposed in Nurse 2008 for final vowels that relate to aspect. In addition, in Ejagham the imperfective is marked by a suffix also, the suffix *-ag*, with its allomorphs.

Assuming synchronically the suffix is a L tone with no segmental shape, the derivation is straightforward with H tone verb roots. The L tone suffix would join with the underlying H tone of the verb root to form a H-L sequence over the verbal stem. This is the very tone sequence that marks the perfective. The process is simple and straightforward, and perfectly accounts for the stem tone.

(20) Derivation of perfective (auxiliary focus) forms with H verb roots

a. à-kánè 3s, PFV 'he/she fried'

ROOT SUFFIXED STEM PREFIXED SURFACE

[káné]->[[káné]ø]->[kánè]->[à[kánè]]-> à-kánè

[H]->[[H] L]->[H L]->[L[H L]]-> [L H L]

b. à-kô 3s, PFV 'he/she took'

ROOT SUFFIXED STEM PREFIXED SURFACE

[kó]-> [[kó]ø]-> [kô]-> [à[kô]]-> à-kô

[H]->[[H] L]->[H L]->[L[H L]]-> [L H L]

The derivations in (20a) and (20b) demonstrate how the L tone suffix can easily be incorporated with H tone verb roots to form the stem and create the H L tone sequence that is indicative of the perfective auxiliary focus form. The perfect (or “anterior”) verb form can then be built on the resulting form as explained in Watters 2012.

The challenge comes with the LH tone roots. When the L tone suffix is added to the root in (21a) and (21b) a sequence of LHL is derived for the entire stem. Roots and stems elsewhere permit the following tone patterns: H, L, HL, LH, as well as LH*LH and H*LH. However, LHL and HLH are not found in roots or stems. The noun forms like *έ-sòηέ* ‘worm’ start out with the root/stem of HL, and the prefix of HL, with the L of the prefix being re-associated with the root/stem after the prefix is added. So one restriction that could be placed on the root/stem is that LHL is not permitted, while H, L, HL, LH, LH*LH, and H*LH are permitted, largely because the L between H’s as in LH*LH and H*LH is a floating *L, creating essentially a H⁺H and LH⁺H patterns. So the evidence is that LHL over a root/stem simplifies to HL either by analogy to the HL stems of H tone verb roots in (20) above, or possibly for articulatory reasons.

(21) Derivation of perfective (auxiliary focus) forms with LH verb roots

a. *à-róβέ* 3s, PFV ‘he/she opened’

ROOT SUFFIXED STEM REDUCED PREFIXED SURFACE
 [rəβέ]-> [[rəβέ]ø]-> [rəβέ]-> [rəβέ]-> [à[rəβέ]]-> *à-róβέ*
 [L H]-> [[L H] L]-> [LH L]-> [H... L]-> [L[H L]]-> [L H L]

b. *à-gbô* 3s, PFV...‘he/she fell’

ROOT SUFFIXED STEM REDUCED PREFIXED SURFACE
 [gbô]-> [[gbô]ø]-> [gbô]-> [gbô]-> [à[gbô]]-> *à-gbô*
 [L H]-> [[L H] L]-> [LH L]-> [H... L]-> [L[H L]]-> [L H L]

The straightforward process in (20) and the appeal to analogical change in (21) provides a better motivated

explanation of these verb forms in comparison to the replacement prefix proposed in Watters 2012.

IX. Conclusion

In conclusion, we can affirm the following:

1. H tones must be associated
2. H tones spread to the right both from prefix to stem and across word boundaries
3. H tone spreading causes L tones on noun prefixes to delink and provides the basis for down stepped H tones due the derived floating *L tone
4. Down stepped H tones are preferred to contour tones that would be derived if un-associated *L tones were associated with TBUs that already have a H tone associated with them.

The result is that there are two sources of floating *L tones from which down stepped H tones on the surface are derived. First, some *L tones originate from an affix added to the root or stem, and either there is no TBU for it to be associated with or priority is given to a H tone to associate with the TBU. Second, in other cases the *L tone has been delinked, usually by the spreading of a preceding H tone, and remains un-associated.

5. The perfective constituent focus suffix has the shape summarized in (15)

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ⁱEjagham is an Ekoid Bantu language and forms part of Crabb's (1965) study as languages F, G and H. In actual fact, many more variants of Ejagham are spoken outside Ikom Division in Nigeria to which he restricted his study. This study is particularly restricted to the Eyumojok sub-dialect in Cameroon of the larger Western Ejagham dialect, a dialect which includes the Etung variants F, G and H as parallel sub-dialects. The Ejagham are surrounded by a variety of different language groups, but their most significant contact is with the Efik and the Boki in Nigeria, and the Kenyang in Cameroon. The research for this study was carried out at various times since 1974. Thanks are due to the Ministry of Scientific and Technical Research in Cameroon for permitting this research. Thanks are also due the many individual speakers of Ejagham that contributed to this study, the most significant included Simon Mkpote Mbi, Ndum Nkom, Martin Obi Ata, and Ayamba Nkiri.

ⁱⁱAll examples use the phonological rather than the orthographic forms. Tone is marked as follows: high tone is represented with an acute mark / ´ /, low tone with a grave mark / ` /, falling tone with a circumflex / ^ /, falling tone from high to downstep high as / ´ ˥ ´ /, and rising tone with the inverted circumflex / ˇ /.

Emotion concepts in Igala language (Nigeria): A view from NSM theory

Lillian Tokula & Martin Pütz, University of Koblenz-Landau

1.0 Introduction

In this contribution we present a semantic analysis of the cognitive domain of emotions in Igala, a *yoruboid* language of the Benue-Congo family spoken in Nigeria by approximately two million people (*National Population Census* 2006). We assume that an efficient way of searching for universal and culture-specific emotion concepts, in our case the conceptual primitive FEEL, is through the application of the *Natural Semantic Metalanguage* (NSM).

In numerous articles and books, the Polish-born Australian linguist Anna Wierzbicka has sought to explicate the meanings of lexical, grammatical and illocutionary constructions as part of NSM theory. Its lexicon is based on a hypothetical set of universal conceptual primitives which correspond to indefinable lexical items of natural languages. The current version of this hypothetical set seems to roughly include 63 elements and their associated NSM syntax (Goddard 2008)ⁱ. These semantic primes are essential ingredients to NSM theory which can be briefly outlined as follows (Goddard 2006b: 3).

‘The natural semantic metalanguage theory (...) is based on evidence supporting the view that, despite their enormous differences, all languages share a small but stable core of simple shared meanings (semantic primes), that these meanings have concrete linguistic exponents as words or word-like expressions in all languages, and that they share a universal grammar of

combination, valency, and complementation. That is, in any natural language one can isolate a small vocabulary and grammar which has precise equivalents in all other languages.'

Due to her enormous linguistic and socio-cultural input to language study, one of her main collaborators, (Bert Peeters 2000: 11) describes Wierzbicka as one of "the most original thinkers in semantics and pragmatics of the last thirty years". In her study of emotional universals, (Wierzbicka 1999) claims that all languages have a word for FEEL and that in all languages feelings can be described as "good" or "bad"; furthermore that all languages have some "emotion terms" (i.e. terms for cognitively-based feelings). Before these hypotheses will be tested and challenged we will first outline Wierzbicka's theoretical framework and discuss some of the central concepts such as ethnocentrism, reductive paraphrase and semantic primitives. We will also critically assess the underlying methodology by making reference to a usage-based account of language. In this regard, the present research aims to:

- i. To identify the exponents of semantic primes in Igala and to test the claims of universality for all 63 discovered primes.
- ii. To test the viability of NSM for the description of the culture-specific conceptualization of emotion concepts in Igala especially vis-à-vis the semantic prime FEEL.

1.1 Natural Semantic Metalanguage: Theoretical considerations

For the purpose of a thorough treatment of the lexical aspects to be discussed in this paper, *Natural Semantic Metalanguage* (NSM) is the primary framework used for the interpretation and analysis of data. NSM is an approach outlined, developed and refined by Anna Wierzbicka and her collaborators over the course of almost four decades of

research. The use of a language-independent analytical tool provided by NSM makes it possible to explain and validate in terms of linguistic evidence the culture-specific nature of the set of categories of emotional experience. Apart from culture-specific and culture-dependent concepts, there also seem to be universal tendencies such as the existence of words across all languages for e.g. cognitively-based feelings.

NSM was developed mainly as a result of dissatisfaction with the circularity often encountered in the definition of words and the imprecision prevalent in the process of word definition. Wierzbicka points out the fallacy inherent in the practice of defining complex words by means of other complex words, and the pointless circularity and obscure definition this often leads to. An example is found in the definitions of the words *demand* and *request* - “to *demand* is defined as 'to request firmly' and to *request* as 'to demand gently'” (Wierzbicka 1992a: 215).

When comparing and contrasting two or more distinct languages, another problem may arise in a sense that most words do not have precise equivalents across different languages. To illustrate this, Wierzbicka (2004: 133) refers to simple and concrete words such as English *hand* which in Russian is rendered as *ruka*; however *ruka* does not only refer to the concept “hand”, but to “the entire arm”. This danger of *ethnocentrism* or cultural bias in semantics may arise if we impose our own conceptual categories (e.g. English) onto the other language (e.g. Russian). In order to avoid obscurity, circularity and ethnocentrism NSM theory makes it possible “to phrase any description of a word’s meaning in simpler terms than the word being described” (Wierzbicka 2004: 133), a principle which is termed *reductive paraphrase* as it reduces or ‘breaks down’ the complex meaning into a combination of simpler meanings. Culture-specific words can then be explicated via semantic primes which in the case of the English lexical item “happy” can be illustrated as follows (Wierzbicka 2004: 136):

Explication of “X feels happy”

Sometimes a person thinks something like this:

Something good happened to me
I wanted this
I don't want anything else
Because of this, this person feels something good
X feels like this

Universal semantic primes, rendered in English, can be grouped under various categories: for example, the primes *I, you, people, word*, etc. are classified as 'Substantives'; *know, think, want, feel, see, hear* as 'Experiencing verbs', and *here, above, below, near* etc. as 'Spatial concepts'ⁱⁱ. So far 63 primes have been identified by means of experimental and empirical research (Goddard 2008), mainly by comparison of equivalent words in a large number of languages (the full set of semantic primes can be found in Section 2 where semantic and syntactic elements are listed using English terms and their corresponding lexical words/concepts in Igala).

The idea of indefinables that would serve as a natural language aid to the explication of the meaning of complex words had been broached by Leibnitz as early as the 17th century; he described them as an "alphabet of human thoughts". The reductive paraphrases for which the primes are used are dependent on a "conceptual syntax", that is, the formulation of the explications is based on the combinatorial properties or valency options exercised by the primes and these properties are believed to be attested to universally. In effect, each prime has well-specified syntactic (combinatorial) properties. For example, the prime FEEL is believed to have the following valency options universally:

FEEL

Someone feels something (good/bad) (in part of the body)
Someone feels like this
Someone feels something good/bad towards someone else

1.2 NSM methodology and Cognitive Linguistics

Certainly, Wierzbicka's ideas about language, cognition and the cultural dimension have much in common with the paradigm of Cognitive Linguistics (CL) as established by its main proponents (Lakoff 1987) and (Langacker 1987). Central

to CL is the idea that language relates to our conceptual world and our human experience such that every lexical and grammatical construction reflects its conceptual and experiential value. One of the basic characteristics of e.g. Cognitive Grammar refers to the assumption that the grammatical structure (or 'architecture') of a language, just like its lexicon, is meaningful and non-arbitrary. The meanings associated with the grammar are rooted in our conceptual system and our basic experiences; in other words, Cognitive Grammar equates meaning with conceptualization. Consequently, grammar is part of cognition and natural language is a product of the human mind (Pütz 1997). Although Langacker himself makes it clear that cognitive grammar is not a variant of any other linguistic theory, he considers it compatible with a number of scientifically similar research programs, such as Lakoff's work on categorization and metaphor (1987), Givón's (1995) function-based approach to grammar, Haiman's (1985) ideas on iconicity and certainly Wierzbicka's (1988) detailed investigation into the semantics of grammar. Without doubt, Wierzbicka's account of "grammatical semantics" is in line with a cognitive, non-arbitrary view of grammar in a sense that "every grammatical construction encodes a certain meaning... Grammar is not semantically arbitrary" (Wierzbicka 1988: 3). These assumptions clearly show that some of the main concepts of Cognitive Linguistics, i.e. the centrality of meaning and the non-arbitrariness of language (vs. autonomous syntax), are pursued with rigour and explicitness in NSM theory. Therefore, Wierzbicka's account of language can be surely placed on a par with other approaches and frameworks within the Cognitive Linguistics paradigm.

However, in recent years major criticism has been raised in regard to Wierzbicka's research methodology. In an interview with (Pires de Oliveira 2001), George Lakoff, one of the founding fathers of Cognitive Linguistics, categorically points out that Wierzbicka's work does not relate to his own or other cognitive linguists's research work. In particular he criticizes the fact that Wierzbicka "does not look empirically at the same range of data that cognitive linguists do" (Pires de Olivera 2001:

29)ⁱⁱⁱ. He adds that “her analyses sometimes capture some aspects of meaning, but they miss an awful lot”, and that “they do not fit what we know of the mind and the brain” (idem). Apparently, Lakoff does not consider Wierzbicka a cognitive linguist at all due to a lack of methodological requirements. Lakoff’s criticism, however, is difficult to comprehend. In her numerous publications Wierzbicka constantly and unmistakably makes it clear that detailed analysis of meanings is based on language use and empirical linguistic evidence by making cross-linguistic and cross-cultural comparisons. According to (Wierzbicka and Harkins 2001), data from such language-specific studies place NSM work firmly within the broader Cognitive Linguistics enterprise and they see conceptual analysis of meaning carried out in universal semantic primes as “a necessary part of cognitive linguistics, alongside other models and approaches” (2001: 20).

Other scholars such as (Kristiansen and Geeraerts 2007) have similar, but more profound objections to an analysis of linguistic and cultural meanings based on a theory of conceptual primes. More generally, they consider NSM to be a “methodologically reductionist approach” which entails four essential forms of reductionism:

‘the reduction of language to linguistic structure, the reduction of thought to language, the reduction of intralinguistic and intracultural variation to linguistic homogeneity, and the reduction of semantic variation to essentialist definitions.’ (2007: 258).

More specifically, they argue that “the reductionist characteristics of the Wierzbickian perspective need to be avoided in favor of an approach that is firmly grounded in empirical research” thereby establishing “a truly usage-based analysis in the domain of intercultural pragmatics” (2007: 257). For example, reduction of language to linguistic structure becomes evident in Wierzbicka’s claim that the traditional *tu/vous* distinction in English has become obsolete. She illustrates her point by discussing the concept of ‘intimacy’ which reflects a personal relationship between the speaker and

the hearer. In English, Wierzbicka claims, there are no linguistic devices to convey great or close personal relationships. This observation is counter-acted by (Kristiansen & Geeraerts 2007) by making reference to a lack of empirical rigor and methodology. Conveying the concept of intimacy, they argue, can easily be performed by means of other than linguistic devices such as gesture, intonation, emphasis and lexical variables. In this vein, from a theoretical point of view the importance of *usage* in the study of language comes to the fore, i.e. “the actual choices that language users make from among the options that are available in the linguistic structure” (Kristiansen & Geeraerts 2007: 267). Another major criticism which is in line with the “lack of empirical investigation” issue refers to Wierzbicka’s fallacy to look at languages as homogenous entities instead of taking account of intralinguistic and intracultural variation. Kristiansen & Geeraerts even speak of an almost structuralist level of abstraction which makes it possible to draw evidence from anecdotal stories, personal observation, occasional use of dictionaries or introspection (2007: 279). Taken all criticisms in terms of reductions together, we may conclude that Wierzbicka’s NSM theory has been attacked mainly on the grounds that empirical evidence and a usage-based approach in the form of corpus studies or experimental data are missing thus neglecting the existence of internal variation and variability in language and culture.

The empirical investigation in the present paper takes up the most essential criticism of NSM theory in a sense that actual usage data will be seriously taken into account thus adopting a usage-based approach to the study of emotion concepts in Igala (e.g. structured interviews, narratives, sermons, storytelling sessions, proverbs, movies, audio-material, interactive forums on Facebook).

The following section(s) is concerned with a description of the data collection procedure and the presentation of the data gathered. The data include an inventory of the exponents of the semantic primes in Igala as well as semantic explications of the emotion concepts in both English and Igala – an implication of this approach is that cross- and intra-linguistic analyses of the

concepts in question are made more readily. Also, an appraisal of the NSM will be carried out alongside the analysis of the emotion concepts.

1.3 Igala language

Igala is a *yoruboid* language of the Defoid branch, which is a branch of the Niger-Congo language family. The language has a native speaker population estimated at 2 million people, majority of whom are found in Kogi State of Nigeria (National Population Commission figures, 2006). The three major dialects of the language spoken in Kogi state of Nigeria are Idah, Anyigba (central Igala) and Akpoto. Native speakers of Igala exist in sizable numbers in parts of Edo and Delta states where dialects of Igala, such as Ebu, are spoken. Igala has three level tones: High, Mid and Low. It has 20 consonants and 7 vowels and is an SVO language. As a member of the Yoruboid group, its sister languages are Yoruba and Isekiri.

1.4 Significance of the study

There is a dearth of linguistic work on minority languages in Nigeria. Igala, given its historical and linguistic ties to Yoruba (the Nigerian language with the second largest population of native speakers, 25 million) and also to Igbo (15 million native speakers) is an important language and insights gained from the study of the language may be useful for comparative and contrastive purposes that may shed more light towards understanding the linguistic characteristics of other languages in the region.

Also, this study may be regarded as augmentative to existing work on NSM research. So far less than 40 languages (<http://www.une.edu.au/bcss/linguistics/nsm/>) have been studied under this framework. Particularly lacking is work on African languages – so far only three African languages are known to have been studied – Amharic (Amberber 2001), Ewe (Ameka 2002) and Sidaama (Kawachi 2007). It is the researchers' hope that this work offers fresh insight as well as impetus to further work on the NSM program.

1.5 Data collection

Data were collected in Abocho, Dekina local government area of Kogi state, from native speakers of Igala resident in Lokoja, Kogi state and in Ibadan, Oyo state all in Nigeria. The data consist of structured interviews, sermons and storytelling sessions. Subjects of this study are native speakers of both sexes between the ages of 30 and 84 who have each lived for, at least ten years, in Igalaland. In total 30 subjects were recorded in interviews and storytelling sessions. Secondary data were gathered from Igala movies, Igala proverbs, audio versions of the Igala Bible, and other Christian literature (15 texts in all) as well as from Igala interactive forums on Facebook (OMA IGALA UCHE and IGALA LANGUAGE).

The bulk of the data were elicited through direct questioning of the subjects each of whom was required to narrate personal emotional encounters or experiences. The aim of which was to observe the range of use of emotional terms and concepts, thus, the metalanguage of emotions in Igala was rendered accessible to analysis. The subjects were also required to compare and contrast between conceptually-related emotion concepts and this aided the researcher (L.T.) in discovering the network of emotion concepts in Igala on the basis of categorization and conceptual overlap as the aim of this exercise was to be able to establish the categorization of emotions in Igala from the point of view of native speakers. Written texts and literature also served as invaluable resources in the analysis of the conceptualization strategies of emotion concepts as well as the range of use of the concepts.

Introspection is a method of linguistic investigation widely employed in CL (but see Section 1.2.) in which the researcher, as a language user, relies on his own knowledge of the language under consideration. The understanding is that the linguist's accessibility to linguistic targets is enhanced due to his acquired skills (cf. Talmy 2007). Also, the adoption of the NSM framework makes it quite necessary, indeed inevitable, that several aspects of this research be subjected to introspection as one of the researchers (L.T.) is a native speaker of Igala.

2.0 Data presentation and analysis

This research is concerned with the study of emotion concepts from three categories: “Happiness-like emotions”, “Love-like emotions” and “Fear-like Emotions”. Where applicable, we shall show how and the areas in which emotion concepts in these three categories overlap.

Below is a table showing the exponents of the primes in Igala and in English.

Table 40.1 Semantic primes - Igala exponents

SUBSTANTIVES:	I, YOU, SOMEONE, SOMETHING~TH ING, PEOPLE, BODY	ÒMI, ÙWE. ÈNEKÀ~ÓNÈKÀ~ÈNE, ÈNUKÀ/ ÈNU, ÀBÓ/ÀMONÈ, ÓLA
RELATIONAL SUBSTANTIVES	KIND, PART	ÓLA, ÈĲ Ú ÚGBO
DETERMINERS	THIS, THE SAME, OTHER	YÍ, ÓLAKÀ, ÈKÉĲ Ì~ÒMÚNÈ
QUANTIFIERS	ONE, TWO, MUCH/MANY, SOME, ALL	ÓKÀ, ÈĲ Ì, ÈKÚTÈ, ÀBÉKÀ, òÇÁKÁ
EVALUATORS	GOOD, BAD	ĲÓ, BIÈNÈ
DESCRIPTORS	BIG, SMALL	NANA, ĲÁ
MENTAL PREDICATES	THINK, KNOW, WANT, FEEL , SEE, HEAR	KPÈ ÍBE, MÀ, TÉNÈ, ???, LÍ, GBÓ
SPEECH	SAY, WORDS, TRUE	KÀ, ÓLÀ, òGÈÇÀ~ÓÇÍ
ACTION, EVENTS, MOVEMENT, CONTACT	DO, HAPPEN, MOVE, TOUCH	ÇÈ, ÇÈ~KÈRÈBÓ, ÇÌ ÌÇÈ, (DU ÓWÓ) KÀDÓ
LOCATION, EXISTENCE, POSSESSION,	BE (SOMEWHERE),	DÈ, ÇÈ DÈ (ÓMÓ), NÈ, ÇÈ

SPECIFICATION	THERE IS, HAVE, BE (SOMEONE/SOMETHING)	
LIFE AND DEATH	LIVE, DIE	DÉǰ Ú, KÚ
TIME	WHEN/TIME, NOW, BEFORE, AFTER, A LONG TIME, A SHORT TIME, FOR SOME TIME, MOMENT	ǼGBÀ/ÌKÒ, ÁBÁǰYÍ, ǰGBÁ~TÁKÍ, ÒBÌ, KPǰKPǼ~GBANǼ, DǼ PǼǼ, PǼǼ, ???
SPACE	WHERE/PLACE, HERE, ABOVE, BELOW, NEAR, FAR, SIDE, INSIDE	ÚGBO, ÈMÌ, ÓJÍ, ǰGANǼ ~ÒFÉ, ÀMǼRÚ, ǰÍǰÌ, ÁKÓLO, ÉFÙ
LOGICAL CONCEPTS	NOT, MAYBE, CAN, BECAUSE, IF	N, ÍKÀNÍ, NÉKE, ÒTODÚ, Í Ǽ ǼNU KÌ
AUGMENTOR, INTENSIFIER	VERY, MORE	ǰǰǰ, MÁǰÚ~ ǰǰGBÁ
SIMILARITY	LIKE/AS	DÁBÍ~ÁBÁ YI

The words in bold fonts are concepts for which no Igala exponents were discovered. Also, as English is the language in which this paper is written, it is inevitable that the analysis of the emotion concepts (which involves extensive intra-linguistic comparison of the concepts in Igala) sometimes necessitates the comparison and contrast of some of the Igala concepts with their closest English counterparts. This, hopefully, does not take away from the focus of the investigation; rather it is hoped that it adds to the clarity of the explications.

2.1 The semantic primitive FEEL

Wierzbicka and collaborators consistently assert that semantic primitives are concepts which are lexicalized universally (cf. Wierzbicka, 1972, 1992b, 1996). One primitive that has come under much investigation is the concept FEEL (cf. Kawachi 2007, Lutz 1985, 1988). Wierzbicka (1992b) and Goddard (1998) postulate that all that is needed for the analysis of emotion concepts is the general emotion concept “FEEL” and a set of basic non-emotion concepts like “WANT”, “SAY”, “THINK”, “KNOW”, “GOOD”, “BAD” etc.

Studies on African languages in the field of emotions using the NSM framework include work on Amharic (Amberber 2001), Ewe (Ameka 2002, 2006), and Sidaama (Kawachi 2007). The results for the three languages were quite similar to the case in Igala. All four languages, respectively, do not possess a single lexical item corresponding to the English equivalent for the concept FEEL. However, they all make use of various lexical devices and processes for the many expressions of a meaning similar to the meaning of the concept FEEL. For Igala, the processes are briefly outlined below and will be further delved into as the discussion progresses.

(i.) **Polysemy:** the use of words that have a polysemous relationship with one of the sensory perceptions - see, hear, smell, taste, touch, or with the verbs “do” and “eat”. Examples:

(1.)

LÍ	ɛDɔ	ɛBɔ
SEE	CHEST/HEART	PREF. COLD

“FEEL RELIEVED/PLEASSED”

(2.)

Jɛ	ùMÁMÀ
EAT	REGRET

“FEEL REGRETFUL”

(3.)

Áŋŋ Á-CE MÍ

SHAME PREF-DO ME

“I FEEL ASHAMED”

(ii.) The use of conceptual metaphors

Examples of conceptual metaphors relating to emotions in Igala are:

(4.) SHAME as CAPTOR

Áŋŋ ÁMÚ MI

SHAME PREF. ME
CATCH

“I FEEL ASHAMED”

One of the subjects of the present study explains the difference between (3.) and (4.) as follows:

Excerpt 1

Í ɕe énwu kì ògíy o mi dé òmó kì n' òlà kì má dé ùkpe k'ù ná-ka n..... áŋŋ á-ce mí kù má neke ka n. Í ɕe énwu kì ù yà fi énwu èbíéne ɕe téfi àmunè, áŋŋ á mú mi.

If I had to say something inappropriate in the presence of an elder.....I would feel ashamed to say it. If I did something bad among a group of people, “shame would catch me”.

The difference highlighted by the excerpt above captures an intra-category overlap in the conceptualization of shame-like emotions in Igala – the overlap between the emotion concepts expressed by English “shyness” and “shame”. In Igala, the same word is involved in two separate lexicalization strategies yielding two separate conceptualizations. More of this overlap is discussed below using semantic explications. Furthermore, “shame” as expressed in (3.) is a positive admirable feeling a younger person is expected to have towards elders as it is regarded in the Igala society as a sign of respect for elders encapsulated in the local convention, *éɕe áŋŋ ògíy o*:

(5.)

É.ÇE	ÁŋǾ	ÒGÍŋO
INF.DO	SHAME	ELDERS

“RESPECT FOR ELDERS”

“Shyness” is the closest English equivalent, however, the NSM explications will show that (3) differs somewhat from English “shyness”.

(6.) SORROW as COVER

ǼDǾ	DÚDÚ	BÙ	MÍ	MÁ
SCHEST	BLACK	(COG.VB) COVER	ME	(COG.OBJ) COVER

“I FEEL SORROWFUL”

In this case, “sorrow” from the abstract domain of emotions is mapped onto the physical domain “cover”, like a blanket covering, for example. Thus, the conceptual domain “SORROW” is lexically represented as being as cognitively real as a physical cover. The alternative lexicalization of the meaning in (6.) is:

(7.)

ǼDǾ	DÚDÚ	NÀ	Á.LÍ	YI
CHEST	BLACK	I	PRES.SEE	THIS

“I FEEL SORROWFUL”

Here again, witness the use of polysemy – “lí (see)”.

(iii) Cognate object constructions (CoC’s)

Cognate object constructions are constructions in which the verb-object collocation is fixed. For example, “I dream a dream”, “I sleep the sleep of the righteous”. In Igala, however, the phonetic shape of the verb and the object are different but are just as, if not more, closely tied as is the case in English. The collocations are so fixed that in almost all cases; the verbs never choose any other complements. Examples:

Table 40.2 Cognate verbs

COGNATE VERB	OBJECT
A.	
RÁ / BÀ	ÀYÌLÒ
(COG.VB) FEEL	TERROR
“FEEL TERRIFIED”	
B.	
WÚ	ÈDÒ
SWELL	HEART/CHEST
“FEEL ANGRY”	
C.	
ÇÍ	ÒKPÒ
(COG.VB) FEEL	FEAR
“FEEL AFRAID”	
D.	
YÒ	ÙYÒ
(COG. VB) FEEL	JOY
“FEEL JOYFUL”	
E.	
ÇE	ÙLÀKÀ
(COG. VB)DO	HATE/JEALOUSY
“FEEL HATEFUL”	
F.	
ÇE	ÁŋÒ
(COG.VB)DO	SHAME
“FEEL SHAMEFUL/SHY”	

As can be seen in the examples above, the cognate verbs are roughly translatable into English “feel”. However, our standpoint in this study is that the prime, in fact, does not exist in Igala. We shall examine this claim in the light of the specifications for the prime as shown earlier:

FEEL

Someone feels something (good/bad) (in part of the body)

Someone feels like this. Someone feels something good/bad towards someone else

However, following criticism leveled against the claims of universality made for the concept FEEL, proponents of the NSM framework have made some revisions aimed at accounting for the seeming absence of a lexicalization of the concept FEEL in some languages. They claim that these languages do express the meaning of the concept by using i.) Either polysemous perception verbs such as *see, hear, smell* ii.) or body part terms such as *heart, stomach, brain* etc. We will show that both cases do not hold true for Igala.

2.2 The case for polysemous perception verbs

We would expect the candidates for the exponents in EVERY language - be they, words, lexemes or phrases - to fit the grammar specifications for that exponent. However, none of the polysemous perception verbs in Igala fits the grammar specification as proposed for FEEL. For example:

lí – see.

(8.)

ƐDO	DÚDÚ	ÒMI	Á-LÍ	YI
HEART/CHEST	BLACK	1SG	PRES.-SEE	THIS

“I FEEL SORROWFUL”

Compare the use of *lí* for the NSM canonical sentence: I feel bad

(9.)* òmi á -lí bibi

“*I see bad”

The closest equivalent of the NSM canonical sentence specification “I feel bad” in Igala is:

(10.)

ἔδο	MI	CE	ἔκπαβίε
CHEST/HEART	MY	BE	SPOILT/RUINED

“I FEEL ANGRY/HURT/SAD/UPSET”

However, this expression is used in talking about specific affective states and not “feel bad” in general as is found in English. More importantly, the Igala sentence is not completely made up of primes; it does not quite satisfy the requirements for the specification.

In fact, each perception verb that exists in a polysemous relationship with an emotion verb does not necessarily occur with every emotion concept, but with a select few. One could not **lí àyìlò* (“see terror”), for instance. Also, the use of the perception verbs, more often than not, is a stylistic choice as a cognate verb usually collocates with the emotion concept (the object). Examples of exceptions of emotion concepts that strictly take the polysemous perception verbs are *lí ìmélí* (see indignation), *lí ùmí* (“see pleasure”), *je ùmàmà* (“eat regret”).

2.3 The case for body part terms

The use of body part terms in regard to the expression of emotion concepts in Igala does not effectively compensate for the absence of a lexicalised concept FEEL as proposed by proponents of the NSM framework. This is because the body part terms are usually used to refer to body parts which are conventionally believed to be the seat of not only the affective feeling in question, but also of certain attitudes and traits. The most commonly used body part terms are listed below:

ḙdò – heart/chest

Traits

- a. ḙdò ḙgwili – (Lit. vein-ridden heart) - hard-heartedness
- b. ḙdò-ḙgbo – (Lit. matured heart) - bravery/boldness
- c. ḙdò-ḙgbiti – (Lit. strong heart) - cruelty
- d. ḙdò- ḙje – (Lit. heart eating) - patience

e. Ùkpédò/ ɛdò ɛkpa – (Lit. heart heat/hot heart) -
meanness

Feelings

- a. ɛdò ɲàɲàlà – (heart + IDEO) troubled heart
- b. ɛdò dúdú – (Lit. Black heart) -sorrow
- c. ɛdò ̀̀kpabíyɛ – (Lit. ruined heart) -
sadness/disappointment
- d. Ùgédò – (Lit. heart quaking) - terror
- e. Ùwédò – (Lit. heart swelling) - anger

ɛdò may be regarded as the seat of these traits and emotions in Igala. It is also conceptualized to a large degree as the thinking faculty or the seat of intuition as well as of good and bad thoughts and intentions:

(11.)

ɛDɔ	MI	Á-KÀ	NU	MI	KÍ	Í	CE
CHEST	MY	PRES-SAY	TO	ME	THAT	3SG	BE

ɛNE	ɛɲɔ	Nɛ
SOMEONE	GOOD	NEG

(LIT.) “MY CHEST/HEART TELLS ME S/HE IS NOT A GOOD PERSON.”

(12.)

ì	ɕE	KPÁÍ	ɛDɔ	KÀ
3SG	DO	WITH	HEART	ONE

S/HE DID IT WHOLEHEARTEDLY

The use of ɛDɔ this way is similar to the use of “mind” in English in a statement such as, “My mind tells me.....”

éjú – eye/face

Traits/(facial) expressions

- a. éjú-̀̀kpá - frown
- b. éjú-̀̀kpá, éjú-̀̀biè (idiom.exp.)– “red eyes, bloody eyes” – seriousness, doggedness, diligence, persistence.
- c. éjú ̀̀k̀̀ǹ̀ – contemptuous glare
- d. éru (ónè) éjú – to be appealing (to someone)

- e. éjú-énè – wisdom

feelings

- a. éjú momi – pity, empathy, sympathy
 b. éjú wee – loneliness
 c. éjú éjó – (Lit. “face burning”) – “embarrassment”
 d. ùṣéjú – craving
 e. éjú- éno – yearning

óla – body

Traits

- a. óla rìdódó – (Lit. cold body) – aloofness
 b. óla àmonè – (Lit. people body) – friendliness, outgoing personality
 c. óla- égá – (Lit. body quaking) – impatience
 d. óla-èfè – (Lit. clean body) – goodluck/good fortune
 e. óla bi – (Lit. body + ?) – ill-fortune

Feelings

- a. óla ìyìlì – (body+IDEO) – repulsion
 b. óla miṣṣ – (body+IDEO) – shock

Other body parts used in referring to various traits and feelings include ójì (head) and ówó (hand). However, these are not used for nearly as many expressions as the three groups shown above.

Happiness-like emotions

(A.) ùyè (joy)

Table 40.3 English-Igala explication for ùyè (joy)

X FEELS ùYṢ	X Á-YṢ
SOMETIMES A PERSON THINKS SOMETHING LIKE THIS:	ÈGBAKA ONÈ Á-KPÈ ÍBE ÁBÈ YÍ
SOMETHING VERY GOOD IS HAPPENING TO ME NOW	ÈṆU ÈṆṢ DṢMṢ Á-ÇE ÁBÁJYÍ
I WANT THIS	Ù TÉNÈ NWU
BECAUSE OF THIS, THIS PERSON FEELS SOMETHING VERY GOOD	ÙTODÚ LÈ, ÓNÈ _____ ÈṆU ÈṆṢ ṆṢṆṢ
X FEELS LIKE THIS	-----

Excerpt 2

.....Ugbo ma d'onobule nwu oko hayi, ma yenì edo ma ce bo.....one foma bi hai edo amone ce bo. Ama ene ki enwu kerebo le onwu a yo....

When a woman is given away in marriage, they [the bride's family] say they are happy [èdò èbó]when a woman has a child, people are happy [èdò èbó] and cook for her. But the real joy [ùyò] is the celebrant's.

(B.) èdò èbó (happy)

X feels èdò-èbó

Sometimes a person thinks something like this

Something very good happened (to me)

I want this

Many things are good now

because of this, this person feels something good

X feels like this

The difference in the two explications above is twofold. Firstly, *ùyò* refers to an ongoing (something good is happening now), emotional experience which is intense but may be fleeting or temporary. The emotion either disappears or is replaced by *édò-èbó* almost as soon as the event is over. The immediacy of *ùyò* is evidenced by the fact that it is often expressed by spontaneous paralinguistic acts such as ululation or the use of fixed expressions relating to the act of *égógú ùyò* (roughly translatable as "being joyful") *Ojo gwa Attah!* ("Long live the Attah!" [Igala king]), Hence, an event like the birth of a child leads to an immediate feeling of *ùyò* for the parents and their close loved ones. *édò-èbó* follows on the heels of the birth as a result of the good feelings the child brings to the home. However, the event of the birth itself is most likely to evoke feelings of *ùyò* rather than *édò-èbó* for those directly affected by the birth. However, what they feel may or may not be the same as the sense of the expression highlighted by the explication below:

(C). **édò-èbó (contentment/satisfaction)**

U fi ukolo li abajoi, na yò. U chane gba salary, édò mi achèbó
....

If I should find a job now, I'll be happy. [But] Contentment comes when I start to earn money....

X feels something

Sometimes a person thinks something like this:

Something good is happening to me

I wanted something like this to happen

I don't want other things

Because of this, this person feels something good

X feels like this

As the two explications for édò-èbó above indicate, the expression is polysemous and the different senses have close counterparts in the English language which are expressed through separate lexical items. However, while explication (B) may be the result of unexpected or unsolicited good acts, explication (C) indicates that the cognitive stimulus is something that the experiencer had wanted or hoped for as shown by the component "I wanted something like this to happen".

Love-like emotions

Ufédò (Love)

Table 40.4 English-Igala explication for ufédò (Love)

X FEELS SOMETHING	X A FEDO
SOMETIMES A PERSON THINKS LIKE THIS	ĖGBAKA ONĖ Á-KPĖ ÍBE ÁBĖ YÍ
SOMETHING GOOD IS HAPPENING TO ME	ĖNYU ĖNĶ DĶMĶ Á-KERE BU MI ÁBÁĶ YÍ
I THINK GOOD THINGS ABOUT SOMEONE	NA KPE-IBE ENYO LE UGBO ONE KA
I WANT GOOD THINGS TO HAPPEN TO SOMEONE	NA TENE ENWU ENYO NW ENE LE
I WANT TO BE WITH THIS SOMEONE	NA TENE DE UGBO ENE LE

BECAUSE OF THIS X FEELS SOMETHING GOOD	(ÌTODÚ LẸ, X _____ ÁBÈ YÍ)
---	----------------------------

Àyìlò (“reverence”)

Excerpt 3

Abajoyi, a wa ki a gbo ola Ojo, a ra àyìlò Ojo. A li eju kpaì eju n, but a che ma ka kini i domo [so] a ra àyìlò. Èṣu ki Bible ye ni e che n, e ra àyìlò Ojo utodu le e ma tenḡ e che n..... His anger is terrible but his mightiness a jenwu we ra ayilo nwu yi. Ya nya ch'enwu ebiene n ama.....

Now, we who are Christians, we feel àyìlò for God. We do not see him, but we know he exists so we feel àyìlò. Whatever the Bible prohibits, we feel àyìlò for God and that is why we do not want to do those things.....His anger is terrible but it is His mightiness that makes you feel àyìlò for him. You know he will not harm you but.....

As implied by the informant, this sense of *àyìlò* is incompatible with fear and is rather closely related to love or reverence, therefore, the explication for this sense is shown under the section for love-like emotions. Note the subject's shift from the use of the cognate verb “bà” in Excerpt 4 to “rá” in Excerpt 5. Conceptually, to “rá àyìlò” refers to a feeling that the experiencer feels *towards* someone or something, which while it might be spontaneous is also conscious and could even be cultivated and is regarded as positive. On the other hand, “bà àyìlò” refers to a feeling which the experiencer has no control over and it is a feeling that arises as a result of the experiencer's fear of something befalling or happening *to* him. In other words, the cognate verb “rá” indicates that the cognitive stimulus comes from within the experiencer.

Table 40.5 English-Igala explication for Àyìlò (“reverence”)

X FEELS ÀYÌLÒ	X Á-RÁ ÀYÌLÒ
SOMETIMES A PERSON THINKS LIKE THIS	ÈGBÀKÀ ÓNÈ Á-KPÈ IBE ÁBÈ YÍ
I FEEL SOMETHING GOOD TOWARDS SOMEONE	Ù _____ ÈNỤ ÈNỌ RÚ ÓNÈ
(BECAUSE OF WHAT THIS SOMEONE DOES FOR ME)	(ÙTODÚ ÈNỤ KI ÈNÈ YÍ CE NÚ MÌ)
I THINK GOOD THINGS ABOUT THIS SOMEONE	NA KPÈ ÍBE ÈNỌ LE UGBO ÈNÈ YÍ
I WANT THIS SOMEONE TO KNOW THIS	NA TÈNÈ KÍ ÈNÈ YÍ KÍ MA
BECAUSE OF THAT X FEELS LIKE THIS	ÙTODÚ LÈ, X -----

Fear-like emotions

Excerpt 4

U neke ch'okpo ku ma muda r'ailo n. I chenku na r'ayilo enwu okpo do manyu. Odu e ka ki omi kate ki kwemi aloti bodija, na railo. U li enwu du ki gwu eju ona n umuda n'edo kun a just kwane a lo n, (that means) na r'ayilo. I che ka ki énu du che mi n, u li énu du ki gwu eju ona n but ago megweji?.... U li enwu du ki ya nyu mi okpo eju ona n (but) ailo a ba mi ki omi kate ki just to eju ona a lo. But i ch'enwu ki u na chi okpo abajoi..... kani i n'enwu ki baba mi ka kini omi k u che n, i ch'enwu k'u fu che taki wa abajoi na kpo gwu u gwu a chòkpò.... énu ki ya ka chénu ki lia. E le énu ki u che she domo me, énu ki ya nyu mi okpo te, u che ma.... Enwu ki e li kpai eju we, ki e ma kakini ukpahu we i bojo n, e chokpo enwu le. E che ma ka kini "Enwu yi, na chi okpo".

I could feel fear without àyìlò. However, if I feel àyìlò, there's an element of fear. If yàù asked me to go alone at night from here (UCH, Ibadan) to

Bodija, I'll feel àyìlò. "I see nothing sitting in the streets but I do not "have the heart" (courage) to just get up and go, (that means) na r'ailo. Nothing has happened to me yet, I do not see anything in my way - but at midnight? I see nothing to cause fear but I will feel àyìlò at the thought of going out alone. But if I was to feel fear.... perhaps, my father had seriously warned me against doing something but I went ahead and did it anyway. Before his return home, I will sit in fear - fear of what he will say upon his return. In that case, there is something which I have done, the thing that causes the fear is present, I know it.....What yù see with yù eyes and yù know that yù are powerless in the face of, yù feel fear for. Yù know that, "I feel afraid of this thing".

Àyìlò (“fear of the unknown”)

X FEELS SOMETHING

SOMETIMES A PERSON THINKS SOMETHING
 LIKE THIS:
 SOMETHING BAD IS HAPPENING/CAN HAPPEN

I CANNOT SAY: I KNOW THIS THING

I DON’T WANT THIS

BECAUSE OF THIS, I WOULD WANT TO DO
 SOMETHING

I DON’T KNOW WHAT I CAN DO

ECAUSE OF THIS, X FEELS SOMETHING BAD

Òkpò (Fear)

Table 40.6 English-Igala explication for Òkpò (Fear)

X FEELS SOMETHING	X FEELS SOMETHING
SOMETIMES A PERSON THINKS SOMETHING LIKE	ÈGBÀKÀ ÓÑÈ Á-KPÈ IBE ÁBÈ YÍ

THIS:	
SOMETHING BAD IS HAPPENING/CAN HAPPEN	ẸNU BIBI A-CE/NEKE CE
I KNOW THIS THING	U MA ẸNU YI
I DON'T WANT THIS	U TẸNE ẸNU YI N
BECAUSE OF THIS, I WOULD WANT TO DO SOMETHING	ẸTODÚ LE, NA TẸNE CE ẸNU KA
I DON'T KNOW WHAT I CAN DO	U MA ẸNU KI U NEKE CE N
BECAUSE OF THIS, X FEELS SOMETHING BAD	ẸTODÚ LE X ??? ẸNU EBIẸNE

The component “I cannot say: I know this” distinguishes *àyìlò* from *òkpò*. Whereas, *òkpò* is the fear of something which is known to the experiencer even if he has no control over it, *àyìlò*, on the other hand is a fear-like feeling which comes from a feeling of general (unexplainable) bad feelings about something. Expressions in which *òkpò* is used imply that the experiencer has a fear of something specific, but a feeling of *àyìlò* implies that the experiencer has an ominous feeling, or a premonition about the thing or person causing the feeling but may not be able to give a concrete reason for this feeling or may have, at best, a vague idea about the reason for the fear-like feeling. No English word adequately captures the sense of *àyìlò*, however, the expression “fear of the unknown” may be regarded as expressing a meaning similar to the meaning of *àyìlò*.

3.0 Conclusion

From the foregoing discussion, we have attempted to highlight the various characteristics of emotion concepts in Igala and to show the areas of overlap among the members of different categories of emotion concepts. The absence of a lexical exponent for FEEL in Igala is shown not to have any relevance to the expression and comprehension of emotive language in Igala as shown by the side by side explication done simultaneously in both languages. Our submission is that,

contrary to the claims made by the leading developers of the theory, FEEL is not necessary to the semantic explication of emotion concepts universally. We, therefore, recommend a review of the status of FEEL. Its present status as a semantic prime in the face of evidence to the contrary from languages such as Igala and Sidaama point to (unintended and paradoxical) ethnocentric bias on the part of the developers of the theory – a phenomenon, among others, which motivated the development of the theory in the first place. A re-evaluation of the status of the concept FEEL as a semantic molecule (Goddard 2006b) necessary for the semantic explication of emotion concepts in English and some other languages but not as a semantic prime found in ALL languages of the world may be more fitting to the data.

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ⁱ The first tentative list of hypothetical semantic primitives (i.e. simple, indivisible and mutually independent) included fourteen elements (Wierzbicka 1972); almost twenty years later there was empirical evidence of “over two dozen elements” (Wierzbicka 1991: 8).

ⁱⁱ Wierzbicka vehemently rejects Lakoff’s claim that her semantic primitives approach to meaning is “not necessary” mainly due to a lack of empirical evidence. Making reference to Lakoff’s (1987) monumental work she states: “Anyone who feels that a few ad hoc examples from English are leavening enough for several hundred pages of theory of human language and human cognition is unlikely to be attracted by any empirical approach” (Wierzbicka 1988: 20).

ⁱⁱⁱ Lists of semantic primes representing other languages apart from English can be found in Russian (Gladkova 2008: 303), Tok Pisin (Priestley 2008: 278) and Japanese (Hasada 2008: 332).

“Scripticide” or the killing of Hausa-Ajami writing system in Northern Nigeria and its aftermath

Dahiru Muhammad Argungu

I. Introduction

Throughout history, the growth of many languages has often coincided with the development of scripts or writing systems that consolidated their existence in communities and accompanied them wherever the languages went or were used as additional media of communication in society. Writing systems, like the speakers of a common tongue, are intricately tied to the languages they symbolize.

Furthermore, like words or phrases of a language, writing systems are borrowed or adapted by other languages to the extent of making them indigenous to a particular (adopting) language, culture or people. Thus, in the same way a word can “travel” through many languages in a circular, endless fashion, experiencing mutations at various sociolinguistic stages, a writing system too is a “traveller” and can go to great lengths in its often solitary sojourn in search of a host language(s). Finally, like language, a writing system too can be exposed to the vicissitudes of life and can become endangered and may even die out, due to lack of use or patronage arising from sociolinguistic, historical and other factors. African languages, like languages in other parts of the world, have experienced the dangers of losing their indigenous scripts which has often resulted in serious loss of culture and heritage by the people.

In Africa, both in the pre- and post-colonial eras, several languages enjoyed and still are proud owners of writing systems which allowed the speakers of such languages to permanently record their indigenous knowledge in various areas of life. Such writing systems evolved out of years of trial

and error or simply through borrowing scripts of other languages, both within and outside the continent.

In the present paper, an attempt has been made to expose the intrigues surrounding the killing (referred to in the paper as “scripticide”, itself a form of linguicide) of one of Africa’s foremost pre-colonial writing systems, the Hausa-Ajami script which was killed by the British colonists, and to critically assess the aftermath of such form of linguicide presently in the area under discussion.

II. The Hausa-Ajami writing system in history

The Hausa-Ajami (or simply Ajami) writing system was locally developed when Arabic as the principal medium of Islamic education spread among the Hausa-speaking people that are predominantly found in northern Nigeria and the southern fringes of Niger Republic, Islam having reached these areas as early as the 8th Century A. D. (Adamu 1990).

However, since the writing system adopted a modified version of Arabic characters in order to write Hausa, the native speakers of the language decided to call the script Ajami (the word “ajam” itself being of Arabic origin refers to non-Arabic person or speech). Thus, Ajami is believed to have been used first to write a non-Arabic or non-Qur’anic name or object (Adamu 2010:199). In Nigeria, Muslim majority languages such as Hausa, Fulfulde, Kanuri, and Yoruba, all have their own Ajami systems of writing based on the phonetic nomenclatures of these indigenous tongues. In other words, Hausa-Ajami script is in several ways different from Fulfulde-Ajami as well as Kanuri-Ajami or Yoruba-Ajami, etc. Indeed Ajami remains the one writing system that has always been used to write Africa’s history, mostly in Muslim majority languages, centuries before the adoption of the Roman/Latin script on the continent.

It is evident therefore that before the European colonial conquest of the Hausa-speaking areas of northern Nigeria and Niger Republic, many people in those societies could read and write both in Standard Arabic (the language of the Qur’an and Islamic Jurisprudence) as well as in Hausa-Ajami script (the

popular vehicle of social and cultural literacy in the Muslim community generally), especially in matters of religious importance which were often expressed through (oral and written) poetry. In the words of Robinson (as cited in Adamu 2010) “the Hausas have every right to be considered a civilized nation. They have reduced their language to writing and have started schools throughout their country for the teaching of their children” (Charles Henry Robinson, 1900).

Though prior to colonial conquest Hausa-Ajami was actively and widely used as a written means of educational and socio-cultural transformation among the people, the system lacked a standardized form at the time and, to a large extent, even today among the Hausa-speaking people. Hence Ajami was used in the community with some degree of difficulty, especially in decoding the symbols used between one writer or composer and another. Owing to this difficulty, the Hausa people often referred to Ajami as “*gagari mai shi*” (meaning “a tough writing system, even to its owner, inventor or author”).

The fact was, before the British colonial occupation of northern Nigeria and their subsequent killing of Ajami, the writing system yearned for a complete and proper harmonization and standardisation of its sounds and symbols in the Hausa community. In other words, Hausa-Ajami script existed among the Hausa more as a personal matter among the literate members of that society and not necessarily an officially adopted script. In short, the script was left at the whims of literate individuals and groups with each author, writer or copyist trying to impose their preferred symbols of choice on the Hausa reading public, through the massive handwritten documents they produced, as there was no central coordinating body or authority to regulate their affairs. Probably, writing systems around the world initially suffered similar fate, like Hausa-Ajami, in their gradual march toward achieving harmonisation and standardization.

Despite these shortcomings Ajami represented the glorious age of literacy among the Hausa-speaking people. In fact, Ajami was (as it still is in some quarters of Hausa society) seen as an important means of literacy as well as an aspect of civilisation

and indigenous creation of the African people which fascinated even the British colonizers, as voiced out by Robinson, earlier cited above. In spite of Ajami being a people's centuries-old toil, treasure and tradition that should have been respected and spared, indeed, preserved, the British only showed an initial compelling interest in the writing system, but, in the end, they chose to stifle it by implanting a rival (Roman) script in Hausa society.

Forever, this development was to change the course of history among the Hausa people. Undoubtedly, this rude colonial ruse was part of the *mission civilisatrice* of the coloniser in general in which indigenous African innovations, treasures and creations only interested them where such innovations were useful to advance the cause of the *mission* and once the goal had been accomplished, the next was abandonment or stifling of the status quo. In the words of Hausa people, '*An ci amfanin ganga an yar da kore*' (meaning, exploit and discard).

III. "Scripticide" or the killing of Hausa-Ajami

The reaction of the British colonists to Hausa-Ajami in northern Nigeria can best be described as "scripticide" which, to this writer, is a form of linguicide in which a writing system is consciously and deliberately exploited and later stifled or killed through whatever means in order to advance a personal, corporate cause or agenda be it local, national or international.

It is important to note that after many centuries of existence as a literary tradition and heritage of an African people, the British could not easily and instantly uproot Hausa-Ajami among the Hausa by early 1900s when the colonial occupation proper was being rolled out in northern Nigeria. Instead the British adopted a policy of gradual linguistic attrition. Initially, therefore, the British officers made active and extensive use of Hausa-Ajami in their records and other writings (see Philips 2004), but only to discard the tradition, after Ajami's potentials had been exploited to further advance the cause of colonialism.

Indeed, learning Ajami became of great relevance to the British, if not mandatory for them, especially during the early period of the occupation when the colonizer needed a deeper and urgent understanding of the indigenous African (Hausa) society and culture as a precursor to laying the colonial agenda. The abundant works in Hausa-Ajami writings that had already existed among Hausa scholars and other literate groups provided the British with sufficient information and, therefore, a quick means of unlocking numerous secrets in that society. This was in contrast to developments in other African societies where writing had not taken roots. In such societies, the coloniser had to rely primarily and almost solely on the study of material culture and oral traditions in order to uncover aspects of life of the African peoples. But in early 20th century Hausa colonial society, writing provided a fast, fairly efficient and veritable means of unlocking all such secrets of the African and his society.

Of particular relevance here was the way Hausa-Ajami literacy easily and rapidly enabled the British (having acquired literacy in it themselves) to communicate with the all-important *Sarakuna* (sg. *Sarki*) or the powerful Hausa rulers. In each Hausa community, in the past as it still is today, the *Sarki* remained the single most important bridge between the ordinary people and government. Indeed the *Sarakuna* symbolised the secular and spiritual/religious powers in Hausa society. The *Sarakuna* therefore could not simply be ignored or brushed aside either by colonial or any modern government, and they remain so till today in northern Nigeria in particular and in Nigeria in general.

Thus by the time the British occupied northern Nigeria, and for a very long time after the colonial conquest, many such *Sarakuna* could effectively only read and write in Hausa-Ajami and not English, the later colonizing medium. Indeed Lord Lugard, the architect of British Indirect Rule, which was the system used by the British to penetrate and subdue Hausa society in northern Nigeria, besides use of military power, saw to it that, initially, the colonial government's proclamations that were meant for public consumption were written and printed

in Hausa-Ajami (see Philips 2004) in order to facilitate communication between the government and the people. This colonial communication policy has, to some extent, continued to be exploited by modern governments with regard to written communication among the Hausa-speaking people of northern Nigeria and among Hausa in the diaspora in the country. In spite of its widespread use and strategic importance even to the colonial administration itself, Hausa-Ajami was never spared as a heritage of an African (Hausa) people by the British.

The first serious official move at killing Hausa-Ajami by the British began in 1902 when Lord Lugard, though out of necessity, had endorsed Hausa to continue to be used as the language of colonial administration in the North; at the same time, he approved the replacement of Hausa-Ajami with Roman script for "On October 29, 1902, in reply to a Resident who was concerned that Hausa examinations might contain a test of Ajami, Lugard's Secretary assured him High Commissioner's desire to use Romanised Hausa for official letters to and from Africans, and not Arabic" (Philips 2004).

The term 'Arabic', as cited above, meant Hausa-Ajami and not Standard Arabic writing system as such. Being unacquainted with the two systems, the British couldn't easily distinguish Standard Arabic writing from the Hausa-Ajami variant, especially during the initial phases of colonial occupation when the British officials discovered large amounts of manuscripts among the Hausa of northern Nigeria written in both Ajami and Arabic. This often led to confusion in matters of administration and policy-making among the colonial officialdom, much of it arising out of their ignorance of Arabic proper and Hausa-Ajami scripts which though related were two distinct writing systems, with each designed for a particular language. Above all, it was Lugard's intransigence and uncompromising stand that further worsened the demise of Hausa-Ajami in northern Nigeria:

Lugard would listen to no advice but instead on his goal of substituting the Roman for the Arabic character and of using Hausa instead of Arabic (i.e. Ajami) as the administrative language, but he admitted that he did not have enough

resources or control to do so. His policy of language examinations for all officials and of encouraging them to learn as many languages as possible caused complaints that requiring knowledge of Ajami in addition would be too onerous a burden for the colonial officers (Philips 2004: 64).

In actual fact, the British colonial officialdom was divided as to the question of Hausa-Ajami's status and survival in northern Nigeria, to the extent of making the script the sole medium of official correspondence. But both those in support and those against Hausa-Ajami's survival acted like the two hands of a scissors, because the two parties were only buying time as neither of them truly supported the continued official use of the Ajami script over and above its Roman counterpart.

Philips (2004), for example, reports that, "regardless of Lugard's expressed desires, as well as those of many of his officers there were both missionaries and administrators who argued for Ajami. Lugard's temporary replacement, Acting High Commissioner William Wallace, under the influence of the missionary and Hausa scholar Charles Henry Robinson, told all Residents to use Ajami in their correspondence with Africans and to inform the rulers (*Sarakuna*) that scholars of Arabic (i.e. Ajami) would no longer be accepted in letters. But he did express the hope that before long Roman letters would be used for Hausa".

As soon as this ruse of 'endorsing' Hausa-Ajami correspondence was declared and the colonial machine began to be rolled out, the British changed tactics and introduced the Latin-based (Roman) alphabet which gradually took roots in society. The Hausa people later pejoratively named the Roman script *Rubutun Boko* (or the *Boko* Script) so as to distinguish it from *Rubutun Ajami* (i.e. Ajami writing system). It is often alleged (though not necessarily or scientifically proved) that the word *Boko* is a corruption of the English word "Book"; thus *Rubutun Boko* actually refers to or means "Book Script"). Later, a whole song was composed by the local people expressing their dislike not only to those (locals) educated through *Boko* (Western-educated) system, but also of the (new) writing system itself. The song's first few lines run thus:

Hausa

*'Yan makarantar bokoko
Ba karatu ba sallah
Sai yawan zagin Malam!*

English

*Oh see them, the students of Boko
They neither study nor pray
But frequently abuse their Teacher!*

Apparently, the song, which is the work of an anonymous author, was composed by the people many years after colonial occupation of northern Nigeria. It was meant to castigate and despise Western-style education which was seen as a rival system (against Islamic education) among the Hausa. These days the song is little heard of in Hausa society with *Boko* education no longer being seen as a stigma or threat by many locals.

Thus in 1907, Major J. Alder Burton, one of the leading British colonizers, issued the declaration against Hausa-Ajami in favour of *Boko* Script, and the line for the 'Battle of the Alphabet' was forever drawn among the Hausa in northern Nigeria: He declared: "Any attempt to resist the natural march of progress is bound to fail. Hausa in the Arabic character is not only the line of least resistance, but it is inevitable" (Major Burton August 26, 1907 as quoted in Adamu 2010).

Therefore the British were never comfortable with Hausa-Ajami throughout the period of their colonial occupation of northern Nigeria.

Finally, Hanns Vischer, who was the colonial government's Director of Education and the first to establish western-type school in northern Nigeria in 1903, typified the resentment with which the British opposed the Ajami script, as contained in his arguments against the system in a paper he wrote in March, 1910, among other things, and as quoted in (Adamu 2010). It read thus:

1. I take it that there can be no doubt at all that there is no idea of keeping the native permanently in a state of tutelage and that the objectives of the Government must be that outlined in B. Granted this, I have no hesitation at all in recommending that the Government should confine its efforts entirely to spreading the knowledge of writing in the Roman character for the following reasons.

2. (a) By encouraging the study of the Arabic Alphabet the government would be actually assisting in the propagation of the Mohammadan religion.

(b) The Arabic alphabet is suited to the Arabic language but is essentially unsuited to represent graphically the sounds of any other language. An English or Hausa word can nearly always be spelt in two or three different ways in Arabic character and it is hard to say which of these ways is right. (In point of fact when they write "*Ajami*" (i.e. Hausa in Arabic character) the Mallamai (also Malam, i.e. Hausa scholars) do frequently spell the same word in different ways in the same page.

(c) The Roman alphabet can be acquired by a Mallam (singular of Mallamai or Malamai) in about a month, and by a boy who does not know Arabic in about two months. It takes the latter more like two years to learn the Arabic character. (The rapidity with which small boys at Sokoto have learned to read Hausa in Roman character has astonished me).

(d) It is very expensive to print the Arabic character (especially if the vowel points have to be added as is necessary when Hausa is written in Arabic character). The publishing of textbooks in Arabic character would be difficult and expensive.

(e) Comparatively few Political officers have mastered the Arabic character (the running hand) (Vischer 1910, in Adamu 2010).

It is interesting to note in the above 'reasons' that Vischer was displaying his ignorance of linguistics and issues of language policy, muddling them up with (Christian) religious sentiments and abuse of political power.

First, is the charge that encouraging the study of the Arabic alphabet, by which he meant Hausa-Ajami, the Government

would be actually assisting in the propagation of the Mohammadan religion. This was wrong in the same way in which studying English or any of the European languages, coming from a Judeo-Christian background, did not induce becoming a Christian.

It was also not true that the Arabic alphabet was unsuited to represent graphically the sounds of Hausa or any other language. In language planning, any symbol or set of symbols can be adopted to represent the sounds of another language provided care has been taken to sensitize the community of speakers about it and the new symbols are adequately rehearsed and allowed sufficient time to take firm roots in society. Moreover, Arabic is a member of the Semitic sub-family of languages, along with Hausa which comes from the Chadic sub-family of the same overarching Afro-asiatic group of languages to which both Hausa and Arabic belong. Hausa, therefore, has more in common with Arabic than with English.

The issue of spelling the same word in “different ways” by Hausa writers also exposed Hans Vischer’s ignorance of Hausa tone (along with vowel-length), both of which are largely responsible for Hausa’s lexical semantic expansion. Therefore the “different ways” of spelling or writing the same word was necessitated by Hausa’s tonal and vowel-length structure. Thus the Hausa-Ajami writing system fitted more in line with Hausa language’s phonetics and phonology than the Roman script. Hausa-Ajami writing allows for tone and vowel-length to be clearly marked or shown together in a single word by a writer, but which otherwise could pose confusion or difficulty in reading when such a word is recorded in *Boko* script, including where vowels are doubled (such as in the following tone-differentiating words: (i) *Fari* as nickname in Hausa of, usually, a light-complexioned person (ii) *farii* meaning white (iii) *faari* meaning to create or cause something to happen, (iv) *farii* referring to drought, (v) *faarii* meaning locusts (vi) *faarii* referring to the beginning of something or in the first place, and (vii) *fari-fari*, a reduplication of the single word above meaning whitish.

To expose the nature of the problem in question, here is a *Boko*-scripted sentence to demonstrate aspects of Hausa's tonal variations using the single word 'fari'. The semantic variants are in boldface and in italics in both the source and (corresponding) target (English) language: Malam ***Fari*** ya ce: "Da ***fari, fari*** ne ya ***fari*** mutuwar ***fari*** har suka kasance ***fari*** ko kuma dai ***fari-fari***" (Malam ***Fari*** said: "In the **beginning**, it was the **drought** that **caused** the death of the **locusts** making them appear **white** or **whitish**). Thus the word "fari", orthographically written in a single way as "*fari*" in the preceding utterance, has appeared seven times in the sentence, and in each appearance the word denotes a different meaning.

In spite of its realisation in *Boko* script, the above utterance would have been written (and read) with much ease and (lexical) economy, along with the distinguishing tone marks realised simultaneously for each variant of the (single) word, if the sentence was written in Hausa-Ajami. Like in Arabic writing, when Hausa words are written using Ajami, both the vowel-length (called *madda* in Arabic) and the tone (high, low or a combination of both) which is specific to Hausa (and not Arabic), are equally realised together, that is,, at the same time, as the writer progresses scripting the words. In the *Boko* system the writer has to repeat the vowels as an additional marking task (e.g. faarii "locusts"). However, in written Hausa, the repetition of vowels as in above is not necessary, except for reasons of teaching/learning situations and not for everyday written communication.

Thus, a word written in Hausa-Ajami, once scripted by an expert, will make a quick reading, occupy less character space because the tone marks and vowel lengths accompanying each word syllable are phonemically pulled and read together, at once, besides the beauty the eye enjoys of the (Arabic) calligraphy.

Again it was wrong for Hans Vischer to say that 'it takes two years to learn the Arabic character' or that 'it was expensive to print it'. None of these accusations against Hausa-Ajami was correct nor were they empirically proved. It was simply a campaign of calumny against a people's tradition and heritage

which the British wanted to destroy at all costs because they were bent on imposing their much-cherished *Boko* script.

The speed of learning any script involves a number of factors among which include the learner's intelligence, exposure, methods of learning, to cite just a few. On the question of printing, one can only say that, if Chinese and similar characters (Hindi, Korean, Japanese, etc) could be printed without thinking of the cost implication, what then deters Arabic characters from being printed? Considering national pride and need, nothing becomes expensive any more.

In short, a part from running away from the glaring reality which made Hausa-Ajami the cheaper, familiar, lexically economical, and popular writing system in northern Nigeria, the British simply ignored the important issue of the link between a language and its writing system. To ignore the writing system of a language is to ignore its history and development as well as undermine its future. Similarly, preserving a language without preserving its writing system is denying such a language and its speakers a form of their linguistic rights which are part of human rights.

IV. The aftermath

The aftermath of the British linguistic policy against the Hausa-Ajami included the following: (i) the progress of Ajami as a means of social and cultural development of the people as well as a powerful tool of literacy and education was prematurely arrested in Hausa society; (ii) equally enough, all those literate personalities the *Malamai* (sg. *Malami*) who became associated with the script now had their power and prestige seriously eroded within the Hausa traditional (Islamic) system of education, and a new set of elite empowered by the *Boko* script (and, of course, English) had come in to take their place as scholars and administrators. In the words of (Adamu 2009:104): "Thus with the coming of the British colonial interregnum from 1903, the scriptural ownership of the Muslim Hausawa (i.e. Hausa-speaking people) eroded. Those who acquired education through the Islamic education medium

became relegated to the back-ground and in Nigeria's development literature became labelled "illiterates". Those who acquired the new Roman-based literacy gained ascendancy and became leaders of thought and development. Romanization became the new panacea for development, while the development needs of millions of Muslim Hausa who became educated daily through the *maktab* and *madrassa systems* were ignored".

When it is realized that about 25,000 Qur'anic schools with about 250,000 pupils (as Lugard himself recorded at the beginning of the colonial occupation in northern Nigeria (see Philips 2004), whose education was largely based on Arabic as a language and Hausa-Ajami script as a means of acquiring social and cultural literacy and education suddenly became stifled by the British, the scale of cultural and linguistic attrition was incalculable.

These realities associated with the life of a people, their culture and tradition, and, indeed their civilisation should have convinced the British not to interfere with the Hausa-Ajami indigenous script. That inference severely and severally not only diverted, but it abruptly disrupted the course of sociolinguistic history of the Hausa as a people and language, almost ad infinitum. With every script that is lost, part of the culture, intellectual values and heritage of a people are equally lost.

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GRATIEN G. ATINDOGBÉ is Associate Professor of Linguistics at the University of Buea, Cameroon. His research interests cover descriptive linguistics, documentation of endangered languages, tonology, intercultural communication, and Cameroon Sign Language (CSL).

EVELYN FOGWE CHIBAKA is an Associate Professor in Linguistics currently lecturing in the Department of Linguistics, University of Buea, Cameroon. She is a specialist in Generative Syntax but has shown interest in Applied, Sociolinguistics and Documentary Linguistics.



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